

# AFGHANews

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## Soviet pilots still bomb Mujahideen

A reliable source told AFGHANews that Soviet pilots are still involved in combat missions and the Red Army is involved in black marketing and drug trafficking.

According to the source, convicted Soviet pilots are given a choice between going to Afghanistan and imprisonment. Soviet pilots fly jets in combat missions against the Mujahideen from the regime air base in Mazar-i-Sharif.

Soviet pilots bringing supplies to Kabul are paid \$300 in hard currency, the source said. On the way back, they smuggle gold, carpets, hard currency and drugs to the Soviet Union. Smuggling is on such a large scale that high Red Army involvement cannot be ruled out.

The Soviet Union supplies food and other essential goods to Kabul and each day dozens of Soviet transport planes bring supplies to Kabul.

January 15, 1991

## Soviets send food to Kabul despite shortages at home

A British freelance journalist who has just returned from a 12-day trip to Kabul and Hairatan border town says he was amazed by the amount of food supplies sent by the Soviet Union to the Kabul regime when Moscow itself was facing food shortages.

Peter Jouvenal found Hairatan a busy town in which many Soviet civilians worked. A bridge, usable by trucks and trains, connects Hairatan with Soviet town of Termez, on the other side of the Amu River. Goods trains bring fuel, food and other commercial commodities to Hairatan.

Peter was surprised by the vast amount of grain brought from Soviet Union to Hairatan. The Soviets have a consulate in Hairatan. A canteen offered very cheap meals to Soviet citizens and UN officials there.

Peter was permitted by the Soviet authorities to visit Termez and he found the contrast between the two border towns striking. While everything was in abundance in Hairatan, shops in Termez were empty. He found Termez like other cities of the Soviet Union. Peter visited Moscow last year and saw shortages of essential commodities there.

Food and fuel were not the only commodities sent by Soviets to their communist friends in Kabul. A large number of trucks, tanks and artillery pieces were parked in Hairatan ready for transportation to Kabul. A similar amount of military hardware were also seen in Mazar-i-Sharif, about 100 kilometers from the border.

Russian drivers transported food for the UN from Termez to Mazar. The road from Hairatan to Mazar seemed safe, at least during the day, and trucks moved unescorted. The UN has an office in Mazar which distributes food aid brought through the Soviet Union in the cities and some are

as controlled by the Mujahideen. The food distributed by the UN is donated by Western countries.

Peter flew from Delhi to Kabul by an Afghan Ariana Airlines flight. Two attempts to land in Kabul failed, once because of the incoming rockets and the next time because of bad weather.

Talking to the air crew, he learned that there were two airlines which fly to Kabul, Ariana Afghan Airlines and Soviet Aeroflot. Ariana planes fly to Prague, Moscow, Dubai and India. For security considerations Ariana planes are based outside Afghanistan and leave Kabul the same day they arrive.

In Kabul, Peter attended a party given by the Soviet Novosti News Agency, visited Paghman, interviewed Najibullah and met with the regime Prime Minister, Khalikyar.

The Novosti party was attended by many Afghans and around 10 Soviet journalists, most of whom had been posted in Afghanistan for a long time. They seemed pro-regime.

Najib's interview lasted for an hour and a half, during which he repeated his old stories. Peter met with regime's Prime Minister who moved on crutches and looked exhausted. Some months ago he was shot by the Mujahideen when he attended a meeting in Herat. He has not fully recovered from the wounds. He also met with the leader of Salvation Society, Prof. Asghar, who had opened his office in a hotel. He seemed unhappy with the regime because his peace plan was not taken seriously by Najib. The Salvation Society is a pro-Zahir Shah organization allowed to function in Kabul.

Peter attended a press conference organized by the regime in which a regime officer read out a statement by a visiting PLO representative about Hezb Islami con-

the PLO at one stage mediated between Hezb and the Kabul regime and organized a meeting between the representatives of the two sides in Baghdad, Iraq.

Peter says the Kabul regime helps foreign journalists to visit Afghanistan because it serves its interests. In the early years of occupation, only 'friendly' journalists were allowed to visit the government-controlled areas. He said most of the visiting journalists had no background information about the situation in Afghanistan and this was the reason why their stories filed from Kabul were usually one-sided.

He was provided with an official translator and this limited his contact with ordinary Afghans because people do not talk openly in the presence of regime's men. The few people whom he talked to complained about economic difficulties and expressed their wish to see the end of war.

Life for ordinary residents of Kabul is very difficult. Government officials and party men are issued with special coupons which make them entitled to subsidized fuel and food. While the price of food was very high, Peter found that the price of alcoholic drinks was very low, and alcohol was available both for foreigners and Afghans.

All the petrol pumps in Kabul were closed. The army has taken over distribution of petrol and it seemed that the army was storing fuel for military consumption. The other reason for the shortage is a decrease in the supply of fuel from the Soviet Union. The pipeline bringing fuel from the Soviet border to Bagram is not operational anymore and fuel is brought by tankers to the capital. Kabulis are facing long power cuts. The important government officers' and foreigners living in Kabul are exempted from power cuts.

Peter came across some pro-Mujahideen people who were very critical of the random rocket attacks on Kabul. He visited Indira Gandhi Hospital and saw only three wounded children who were burned by flares dropped from Russian transport planes. This indicated that there were no recent casualties from rocket attacks, something the regime would have tried to show if there were.

He found Paghman in control of regime militiamen. Paghman is totally destroyed and almost deserted. The Kabul regime launched an attack last year to push the Mujahideen out of the valley so that their guns are out of range.

The Kabul regime officers accompanying Peter tried to show their displeasure over the massive destruction of the resort town, but to Peter this seemed hypocritical because the town was destroyed by the regime's artillery and air force. He had visited Paghman one year before with the Mujahideen and even spent three days in Kabul during which he was helped by KHAD officers sympathetic to the Mujahideen.

On the way back to Kabul, Peter had a short stay in Herat airport. He met a UN worker in the airport who told him that heavy fighting continued between the Mujahideen and regime troops close to the city.

Peter is a freelance cameraman who has made 32 trips to Afghanistan with the Mujahideen since April 1980. He has visited the North, Panjshir, north of Kabul, southern and eastern provinces to report war for many television networks.

January 15, 1991

## Moscow to Kabul: free lunch over

The head of the Kabul regime hopes to barter Afghan gas for goods imported from the Soviet Union.

A group of Soviet journalists visiting Kabul asked Najib how he saw the future of economic relations between Kabul and Moscow, since the Soviet people now criticize economic aid to developing countries, especially to Afghanistan?

Najib said he needed the economic support of the USSR but plans were under way to increase exports of those items that Soviets needed. He said in the near future exports of gas will be resumed. Afghanistan will sell 300 million cubic meters of gas annually to Moscow.

Najib said Kabul has started to pay for Soviet goods in hard currency. He said in 1990 trade between the two countries, based on hard currency, reached 14 million US dollars.

In another development, the Kabul regime has decided to devalue the Afghan currency to coax foreign investment to Afghanistan.

The regime's economic minister said the official value of the Afghan currency does not reflect market realities. The official rate of Afghan currency is 51 Afghanis per US dollar while in the black market it has reached 700 Afghanis per US dollar.

## Disabled Mujahideen protest

Around 200 disabled Afghans demonstrated in front of the AIG Prime Minister's office on November 18 to demand payment of their monthly allowance.

The Health Ministry of the AIG had opened an office to deal with the problems of disabled Afghans. It classified war-wounded Mujahideen in three categories, giving a monthly allowance for each category in addition to making arrangements to lodge and feed them. After a few months of payments the

Health ministry faced financial problems, and stopped paying the monthly allowance of the disabled Mujahideen. After several months of waiting the AIG instructed the registered disabled Mujahideen to ask their respective parties for their monthly allowance. The dispute took some of the disabled Mujahideen to the streets in Peshawar to protest against the AIG. They attacked some fancy cars belonging to refugees.

## Wahdat opens offices abroad

The Wahdat party has opened offices in Germany, Austria and Denmark to promote political and cultural works in these countries.

A leader of the Wahdat Party told the Iranian News Agency that his party wanted to intensify political activities outside the country to muster support for Jihad. While the Peshawar-based Mujahideen are closing some of their offices abroad due to financial problems, the Iran-based Wahdat Party has intensified its political activities.

It sent a delegation to Cairo to present its views during the OIC Foreign Ministers' meeting. Later, a delegation went to New York to talk to UN officials about Afghan issues, when the General Assembly wanted to pass a resolution about the Afghan problem.

The Wahdat party enjoys the full financial and diplomatic support of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It is a merger of several Shia Mujahideen groups which has influence in the central part of Afghanistan. A number of Shia parties have broken away from the Wahdat Party and formed an alliance with its main office in Peshawar.

## ICRC opens new hospitals

ICRC is planning to open three orthopedic centers in Kabul, Mazar-i-Sharif and Herat. The orthopedic centers will start work at the beginning of the new year. These hospitals will be able to treat only patients from the cities controlled by the Kabul regime because the Mujahideen are not ready to make use of facilities under regime control. ICRC does not have any hospitals in the liberated areas. It has set certain conditions for establishing hospitals in these areas: the transportation of medicine through Kabul, and free movement of the organization's medical teams between cities and liberated areas. The Mujahideen are opposed to this.



CSM map

## A RECIPE TO INAUGURATE THE AFGHAN YEAR 1370

MIWA NAUROZEE

### New Year fruit compote

serves 6-8

*Miwa* means fruit, and *Naurozee* the New Year. As one would expect, this compote is made for New Year celebrations. The original version was made with seven fruits, each of which had a name including the letter *seen*. So the dish may also be called *Haft* (seven) *seen* or *Haft miwa*.

The seven fruits were: *khaslah*, apricot kernels; *pistah*, pistachio nuts; *kishmish surkh*, red raisins; *kishmish sabz*, green raisins; *kishmish sia* (sometimes called *monaqa*), large black raisins with seeds; *saib*, apple; and *sinjed*. *Sinjed* is the fruit of a tree of the genus *Elaeagnus* in the oleaster family. It is related to the North American silverberry. It looks like a very small date, but is redder, with a large stone, a bland flavour and a mealy texture.

Tradition requires that, before *Haft seen* is served, it is blessed by the reading of seven passages from the *Qo'ran*, called *Haft Salaam*. These passages are special prayers to bring health.

The ingredients now used to make *Mitsu Naurzee* vary from family to family. Many use the small, sweet, dried white apricots called *shakar paura*. Almonds (*badam*) often replace apricot kernels, and walnuts (*charmaz*) are a common addition. It is fortunate that the recipe is flexible, since it can easily be made with whatever dried fruits and nuts are readily available, as in this version.

From AFGHAN FOOD & COOKERY -

NOSHE DJAN - by Helen  
Sabeti, Prospect Books,  
1986. US distributor:  
Univ. Press of Virginia,  
Charlottesville, VA  
22903.

4 oz (110 g) dried apricots	2 oz (50 g) pistachio nuts
4 oz (110 g) dark seedless raisins	2 oz (50 g) almonds
2 oz (50 g) light raisins	2 oz (50 g) cherries
2 oz (50 g) walnuts	

Wash the apricots and both types of raisins and place in a bowl. Cover with cold water to 2" (5 cm) above the fruit. Cover and set aside for two days.

Put the walnuts, pistachios and almonds in another bowl or pan and add boiling water. Leave to soak, then peel off all the skins as they soften. This is a fiddly job, especially with the walnuts, but it is well worth the effort. Throw away the water.

After the apricots and raisins have been soaked for two days, combine the fruits and the juice they have been soaking in with the nuts and add the cherries.

To serve, spoon the fruit and nuts, well mixed, and some juice into individual dishes or cups.

If this dish is left for a couple of days in the refrigerator the juice will become sweeter.

# THE PAKISTAN TIMES

## Afghan guerillas for Riyadh

PT MONITORING

Several hundred Afghan guerillas have left for Saudi Arabia by a special Saudia flight from Islamabad Friday.

BBC quoting Afghan authorities say this was the first batch of Afghan guerillas despatched to the Kingdom at the request of Saudi authorities. A second batch of such guerillas would leave for Riyadh soon. These guerillas will operate under Saudi command.

Saudi Government's earlier request to send Afghan guerillas to the Kingdom was turned down by Pakistan saying that they are very busy in Jihad against the Kabul government which is all they could do at time.

It is not clear what made Afghan interim government to decide for sending their guerillas to Saudi Arabia specially, when several Afghan commanders are against this decision.

Despite the fact that Afghan Mujahideen have been receiving regular aid from America in the past, several Mujahideen commanders have openly criticised US offensive against

Iraq in the Gulf. The decision may have been the result of additional Saudi pressure on Afghan Mujahideen.

Reports say Saudi Arabia had already suspended all aid to such Mujahideen commanders who are opposing US offensive against Iraq in the Gulf. Like most other decisions, this decision to send Afghan Mujahideen to Saudi Arabia has not been made unanimously and this step may widen the gap between Afghan Mujahideen commanders.

Iraqi Ambassador in Islamabad told BBC that with the exception of Mr. Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, who has close relations with Saudi Government, all seven leading Afghan Mujahideen commanders stationed in Peshawar have called on him in Islamabad and assured their full support to Iraq. Despite the fact that Afghan Mujahideen would be posted in Saudi Arabia, several Afghan guerillas have been trained in Peshawar with a view to waging jihad against the allied forces in the Gulf.

2/9

## Hekmatyar warns against US designs in Gulf

PESHAWAR, Feb. 11: The Chief of Hezb-i-Islami Afghanistan, Engineer, Gulbadin Hekmatyar, has warned the Muslims all over the globe against the sinister designs of United States and her Western allies in the Arabian peninsula and called upon them to come to the rescue of Iraqi Muslims, reports Afghan News Agency.

Addressing a huge Jama congregation at Shamshatu refugees camp on Friday last, he said that neither the America and her allies have sent their troops to Gulf for the liberation of Kuwait nor warding off any danger to Gulf for the liberation of Kuwait nor warding off any danger to Saudi Arabia. They have come to Gulf to wipe out the strong war machine of Iraq to eliminate any future threat to Israel and the US interests in the region.

He said had the Americans come to Gulf for the protection of Saudi Arabia they would have entrenched their troops for the security of that country and never

attacked Iraq and if they wanted to liberate Kuwait they should have landed their troops in Kuwait and fought for its liberation. But the attack on Iraqi territory and the unprecedented bombings over the Iraqi Muslims in which the whole infra-structure of Iraq was being destroyed has unveiled the real motives of America and her allies.

He said the statements of the Western and American leaders, that if Iraq withdrew its troops from Kuwait their troops will remain in the region for maintaining peace, has further revealed the fact that they have sent their troops to take control of the whole region and usurp the resources of Arab Muslims.

Engineer Gulbadin Hekmatyar deplored the role of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the current showdown against Iraq. He said that till yesterday the Iran dubbed America as the worst enemy of Muslims and Islam, but today it was holding itself neutral and

## US forcing Afghan Mujahideen to send troops

PESHAWAR, Jan. 23: Some of the Afghan Mujahideen leaders are under heavy pressure of the US to send Mujahideen contingents to join the multinational forces in Gulf, highly informed sources told Afghan News Agency here Wednesday.

After the Iraqi occupation Kuwait some of the Mujahideen leaders in view of their close liaison with the US and the then Kuwaiti regime had promised to send a contingent of the Afghan Mujahideen to Saudi Arabia to protect the holy places from any aggression. However, due to the opposition by the other Mujahideen leaders and commanders, the issue of sending Mujahideen contingent to Saudi Arabia was dropped.

According to the sources the American government and CIA is strongly persuading those Mujahideen leaders who had shown willingness for sending Mujahideen forces to Saudi Arabia to prepare their Mujahideen for joining the multi-national forces in Gulf under the command of US to fight against Iraq.

Special envoy of US for the Afghan Mujahideen, Mr. Peter Tomson is expected to arrive in Peshawar in a day or two in a bid to drag the Mujahideen forces to fight against Iraq in the forefront in Gulf.

If the American envoy succeeds in his bid, 2,000 Mujahideen will be imparted full military training at the Mujahideen military garrison in Shagai and will immediately be despatched to Gulf War front

instead of posting them in Saudi Arabia at the holy places.

A former Afghan General, Yahya Nuroz who remained Chief of Operation in the Ministry of Defence in Kabul and held a key post in the AIG, recently was believed to be heading Mujahideen contingents to Gulf. The General, however, dramatically slipped over to United States and is not likely to return back as he personally was opposed to the despatch of Mujahideen contingents to Gulf.

By and large, the Afghan Mujahideen are strongly opposed to the America and her allies destructive bombings over the innocent Iraqi Muslims. They believed that the Gulf War is imposed by the United States over the Muslims to protect Israel from the possible challenge of Iraq and thus create conditions for the Israeli hegemony in the Arabian peninsula.

Engineer Gulbadin Hekmatyar and Professor Abdur Rasool Sayyaf are amongst those Afghan leaders who are strongly opposed to the idea of sending Mujahideen contingents to Gulf under the US command. Both have time and again condemned the American designs in Gulf. They at the same time have also condemned the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and demanded the withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait.

Interestingly, the AIG leadership have not come up with any reaction against the persuasive despatch of Mujahideen contingents to Gulf. —ANA.

January 24, 1991

instead carry out military manoeuvring near the Iraqi frontiers. So much so that one lakh army of Iran has been stationed close to the Iraqi frontiers. The Iranian government invited the Amir of Kuwait to Teheran and assured him of Iranian support. He said that had Iran announced to stand by Iraq against any American or Western threat, America couldn't have imposed this war in the Arabian peninsula.

He warned the Muslims of the globe about the dreams of Washington for a gigantic Israel having full hegemony over the Arab lands. The United States has been moving Jews into Israel from all parts of the world and the repatriation of Jews to Israel was one of the issue of contention between Washington and Moscow in their current talks, he added.

February 12, 1991



"We don't believe in transmigration of souls but he seems to be Lawrence of Arabia born again!"

Washington appears satisfied with Najibullah's secular and socialist government despite its total dependence on Moscow. With the divergence of policies over Afghanistan and an end to US arms aid to the Mujahideen, the Afghan armed struggle against a foreign installed regime came to a grinding halt. Corruption and infighting among Afghan political groupings and foot dragging by the PPP regime over active support of the Afghan struggle caused a big setback to the Afghans' 10 years struggle to rid themselves of the Communist regime. As this struggle was totally dependent on foreign military and monetary support, its blockade created a crisis whose solution has yet to be found. Clearly foreign aid has chained the Afghan struggle into inaction.

ہیچ گل بی خار  
نہیست

"No rose is  
without thorns."

## Price-hike, cold hit Kabul people

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 11: The locals in Kabul are facing great problems because of severe cold which called unprecedented for the last decade. On the other hand, scarcity of foodstuff and fuel, high prices of commodities have made their lives miserable reports Media from Kabul

The people, especially women and children, have been compelled by to beggary city's streets and its suburbs, the reports added.

The Soviet backed Kabul regime which has drawn all of her attention against the Mujahideen, has forgotten to think about other problems of the locals.

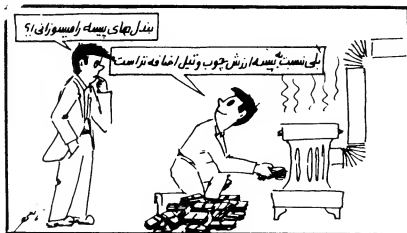
One loaf of bread weight 400 Gr. is about 20 Afghanies, one kilo rice is about 500 Afghanies, one kilo beef is about 1200 Afghanies, one litre petrol is about 40 Afghanies, one kilo wheat is about 30 Afghanies, which the people are unable to buy.

PT February 12, 1991



Gov't employee: "I'm coming to eat you."

Chicken: "You can't eat me. You can't even afford my eggs."



"You're burning money?"

"It's cheaper than wood or oil."

## 'Global consensus must to end Afghan war'

NEW YORK, Feb. 18 An international conference on reconstruction of Afghanistan was held here Sunday, and a number of concerned officials experts and special envoy of the UN Secretary-General for Afghanistan, Mr. Bennis Saven, spoke on the occasion. All participants agreed that the war has caused enormous hardships of the people of Afghanistan should be removed as soon as possible, so that they may start reconstruction of their country. The Head of a joint organisation of few relief agencies for Afghanistan, Mr. John Bennit, said the Gulf war had diverted the attention of the world from the Afghan issue, and it was not expected that the people of Afghanistan would be provided with a large quantity of assistance in the near future. The UN did not honour its promise of providing \$100 million to Afghanistan. They are considering steps to resolve this problem, but it will take some time. However, the 'AIG' closed all of its ministries thus rendering 20,000 Afghans jobless, he said.

He said he had held talks with the UN officials in Islamabad, and the US Congress had also pledged \$60 million to Afghanistan during 1991. Referring to differences among Mujahideen organisations' commanders and national elders, Mr. Bennit said now they have attacked their only hope with the Mujahideen Shoorā for assistance, reconstruction of Afghanistan and ending the on-going internal Afghan war.

According to VOA, Mr. Bennis Saven said since his assumption of office, he had reached a conclusion that the settlement of the Afghan problem was impossible unless the guarantors of the Geneva Accord, the United States and the Soviet Union, and similarly the neighbouring countries of Afghanistan reach a consensus and make efforts for ending the internal war there.

Mr. Saven said he had been meeting the Afghans for the last three years, and was now much serious in the issue as compared to the past, and does not hesitate to admit it. He said the Afghans should be left to decide their problem in accordance with their own way. Mr. Saven said the Afghan way did not mean that they should resolve their differences through wars, because wars could win the battles, but could not resolve the problems.

He repeated his arguments that the Afghan war would never be settled unless international consensus on Afghanistan, is evolved. The war and destruction is going on in Afghanistan, and the Afghans need a large quantity of assistance, but now a days people have turned their attention away from Afghanistan.

Mr. Saven said he did not mean to say that like in the past, Radios and Televisions should broadcast and telecast reports of the Afghan war and a bloodshed round-the-clock, rather he wanted that people should pay attention towards peace and try to put an end to the miseries of the Afghans.

The solution of the Afghan problem is impossible unless a ceasefire is observed, weapons are laid down, people are allowed to take part in elections and hostilities are ended.

He said it would be better to give an opportunity to peace because only peace could end the miseries of the Afghan problem. Military means have been tested a number of times and now political means should be given an opportunity, he stressed. —PPI

pg February 12, 1991

# Afghanistan, the Place Where the Cold War Didn't Go Out of Style

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

**T**WELVE years after Soviet Army paratroopers landed in Afghanistan and the Carter Administration began covertly supplying Afghan guerrillas to resist them, Afghanistan defies a pattern that has seen the superpowers abandoning proxy wars throughout the developing world.

Today Washington and Moscow are working closely to reduce tensions in several traditional cold war flashpoints, including the Korean peninsula, Angola and El Salvador. But the civil war between the Kabul regime installed by Moscow and an array of Islamic rebel bands backed by Washington is as far from resolution today as it has been in years.

Balkanized by traditional tribalism, Afghanistan remains a hostage to the divergent

policies of not only the Soviet Union and the United States, who together still pour more than \$3.5 billion of aid a year into the conflict, but also Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and China. And the recent re-emergence of hard-line influences on Soviet policy could narrow the chances of peace even further.

"Afghanistan is caught in a time warp," said Selig S. Harrison, an expert on Afghanistan at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "In another century, the Afghan civil war might have wound down by now but it got mixed up in the cold war and efforts by Islamic fundamentalists to expand their influence into South Asia."

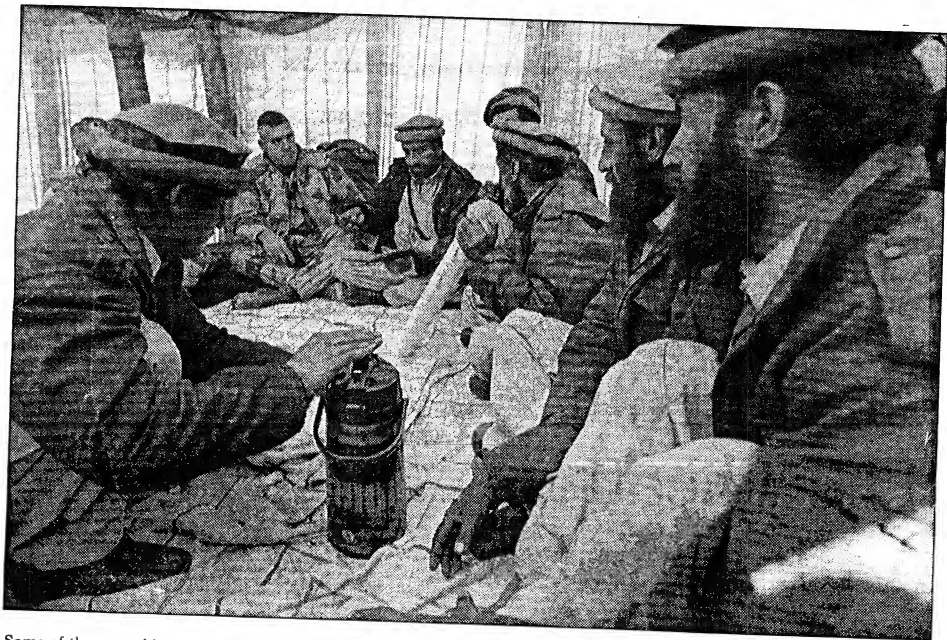
Administration officials who follow the Soviet Union said that the resurgent hard-liners in the Kremlin, several of whom served as officers in Afghanistan before the army withdrew in 1989, have argued successfully in recent months that a total retreat now would

dishonor the 15,000 Soviet troops who died there and would threaten instability in the neighboring Soviet Islamic republics. Accordingly, Moscow has hardened its diplomatic support for President Najibullah and reportedly has increased the number of its military advisers.

Meanwhile, the Central Intelligence Agency, in a long policy dispute with the State Department that it now appears to be winning, has been arguing that negotiations cannot end the war and that Washington should step up its efforts to help the guerrillas win a military victory. The agency says such a policy would help contain Soviet and Iranian influence, further warm relations with Saudi Arabia, and insure close ties to the Pakistani intelligence service.

Pakistan has resisted a peaceful resolution more persistently than any other foreign power, having long hoped to install a sympathetic regime in Kabul and thus resolve traditional border tensions. In this way, it hopes, it could free Pakistani military forces to face India. Pakistan's strategy has been to assure that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, the most uncompromising and militant of the fundamentalist leaders, receives the best weaponry.

The fact that Afghan politics are still driven to such a large degree by foreign governments was underscored last week when hundreds of rebels representing groups financed by Washington and Riyadh arrived in Saudi Arabia to join the coalition forces fighting Iraq. But other guerrillas who are tied to Pakistan, the Muslim Brotherhood or various



Some of the several hundred Afghan rebels who arrived in Saudi Arabia last week talk with an American marine.

Pool photo via Associated Press

Saudi fundamentalist groups that are independent of the Saudi Government publicly attacked their fellow Afghan fighters for allying themselves with Western infidels. The factional differences widened a rift that could jeopardize plans for a coordinated summer offensive against Government-controlled cities.

When President Mikhail S. Gorbachev withdrew the last Soviet troops from Afghanistan in February 1989, almost all predictions held that the Afghan Government would collapse within six months. Preparing for the worst, Soviet diplomats cut down the trees around their embassy in Kabul so they could be airlifted to safety in case the guerrillas blocked the road to the airport.

But the rebels were too divided to launch a serious attack on the capital; Shiite Muslim groups backed by Iran bickered with Sunni Muslim groups backed by Pakistan, and these in turn also bickered with Saudi-backed groups that adhere to the strict Wahhabi strain of Sunni Islam.

Since each of the foreign countries sponsoring the war jealously looked after the interests and military needs of its particular clients, no group or coalition was capable of acquiring supremacy.

Consequently, the Najibullah regime hunkered down in a half-dozen cities and managed to survive. And over time, Soviet military strategists began to believe that maybe they hadn't lost the Afghan war after all.

Still, Mr. Gorbachev, who called the Afghan conflict a "bleeding wound" for his country, decided to work for a diplomatic solution to the war. President Bush agreed to cooperate, partly in hopes that a joint effort to end the conflict would be another way to bring Washington and Moscow closer.

## A Near-Agreement

"We no longer saw Afghanistan as the Soviet thrust for a warm-water port in the Persian Gulf or as a beachhead for a close alliance with Iran," said a State Department official. "We were playing out an old grudge without really knowing why we got in there in the first place."

During a year of sporadic high-level discussions, the last of which occurred in December, the Soviet Union and the United States nearly agreed to a basic framework for ending the conflict. An interim coalition Government would run the country until free internationally sponsored elections, in which the guerrillas and other opposition groups would participate, could be held.

The major stumbling block was over what role Mr. Najibullah would play in the interim government. The United States was willing to accept him as president but demanded he give up control of the security and intelligence forces, a condition Moscow would not accept. The Pakistani-sponsored Hekmatyar forces refused to enter any deal with the Najibullah Government, although Administration officials remained optimistic that they could eventually be brought along.

But Administration enthusiasm has dimmed in recent months. The military and party functionaries who are leading the re-trenchment in Moscow have succeeded in moving President Gorbachev to propose a new condition for a settlement.

Until late last year the Soviets took the position that the United States and the Soviet Union should cut off military aid simultaneously before elections. But since Decem-

## دافغان ټولنپال ولسواک گوند

## AFGHAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY



### Declaration of Intent

The Supreme Command (Presidium) of the Afghan Social Democratic Party (ASDP) met in New Delhi from September 20-22, 1990. The Presidium deplored the fact that after the Soviet troops withdrawal from Afghanistan, neither the present Afghan government in Kabul nor the Afghan resistance groups in Pakistan were able to bring peace and stability to our homeland. After lengthy discussion, members of the Presidium agreed on the following points:

1. ASDP will actively resume its political activities inside Afghanistan;
2. ASDP should invite all patriotic forces to unify and launch their efforts under one political and national platform;
3. ASDP once again reiterates that an international conference should be convened to ponder upon the political settlement in Afghanistan;
4. ASDP strongly condemns all foreign interventions in the national affairs of Afghanistan;
5. ASDP urgently demand the cessation of sending arms to the belligerent parties;
6. ASDP strongly support the exercise of right of self-determination by the Afghan people to choose their own political system and government; and
7. ASDP urge International Community especially western countries to start immediately economic and humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people.



ber, Moscow has demanded that all the other foreign powers should also terminate their assistance at the same time.

That is a condition that the hard-liners must have known would be virtually impossible for anyone to enforce, and its emergence underscores how far apart Moscow and Washington have drifted.

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
FEBRUARY 17, 1991

An Afghan guerrilla at a training camp in Saudi Arabia. The Afghan force consists of 310 men who are supported by the Saudi Government. NYT 2/15



# Deaths in Pakistan-Afghan Quake Are Put at 300

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Feb. 2 (AP) — Rescue workers trudged through knee-deep snow today to reach mountain villages in Pakistan and Afghanistan where at least 300 people were killed by an earthquake on Friday, according to official estimates.

More than 500 people were reportedly injured in the minute-long quake that jolted residents from their sleep shortly before dawn on Friday.

The quake also shook the Soviet Central Asian republics of Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan, touching off landslides and causing some damage. But no casualties were reported there.

Most damage in Pakistan was con-

lined to the tribal area near the border with Afghanistan.

There were 164 confirmed deaths, but Pakistani officials estimated at least 300 people had died. Officials said the number of dead and injured remained unclear because the worst-hit areas were in this country's remote mountain regions bordering Afghanistan.

The Kabul radio in Afghanistan's capital reported that five people had died in the quake. It said dozens of homes were destroyed in Kabul. More than 80 homes were destroyed in the three provinces neighboring Pakistan, the radio said.

The Pakistan Times said snow-clogged mountain passes prevented rescue crews from reaching some of the remote villages affected.

The quake registered 6.8 on the Richter scale, which measures ground motion as recorded on seismographs. Every increase of one number means a 10-fold increase in magnitude. An earthquake measuring 6 is capable of causing severe damage.

Seismologists said the quake was centered in the Hindu Kush mountains, about 200 miles northeast of Kabul.

In most of the hardest hit villages, there are no clinics or hospitals. Officials said the closest hospital to the

area is at least 50 miles away in Chitral, which is accessible by mountain roads subject to frequent landslides.

The quake added more suffering to the lives of Afghan refugees living in tent villages and dried mud huts in Pakistan. Most of the estimated 3.8 million refugees live in camps near the border. They fled to Pakistan after the Soviet Union sent soldiers to prop up a Marxist Government in Kabul.

Earthquakes often strike northern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan, but they seldom cause damage or casualties. Officials said the death toll in Friday's quake was high because sleeping residents were trapped in their fragile adobe huts when the tremor struck.

The worst quake to strike the area occurred in the eastern Pakistani city of Quetta in 1935, leaving an estimated 50,000 people dead.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

FEBRUARY 3, 1991

## AFGHANISTAN



Information Division  
PERMANENT MISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

866 UN PLAZA, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017



The New York Times

### EARTHQUAKE AND FLOOD CAUSED DESTRUCTION AND DAMAGE IN AFGHANISTAN

The earthquake, which occurred on February 1, 1991 in the capital of Afghanistan, as well as in the provinces of Badakshan, Jozjan, Nangrahar, Laghman, Kondo, and Baghlan, caused the following losses:

Human death toll - more than hundreds persons, affected families - 1,440, completely destroyed dwellings - 430, complete and/or partly destroyed stores - 120, livestock losses - 2,770 heads. Inhabitants' utensils and other properties destroyed worth of 165 million Afghanies. The latest total estimate for the material losses in the aforementioned provinces is 733 million AFS.

The losses and damages caused by the flood on 2-3 February 1991 in Nemroze province were reported as follows: Hundreds of people lost their lives, and approximately 3,000 families were affected. The total estimate of material loss is 800 million AFS.

The human and material losses in the provinces of Kandahar, Farah, Helmand and Balkh caused by the severe flood and rains from 23 to 28 January 1991 are reported as follows: Human losses - more than 237 persons, residential homes destroyed - 8,003, stores - 720, mosques - 66, agricultural farms - 4,148 hectares, livestock losses - 29,545 heads, official buildings damaged - 25, dams - 66, ducts - 80, regular wells - 75, aqueducts - 32, roads - 40 kilometers, small bridges - 27, and likewise 80 fruityards (BAGHS) were also destroyed.

The total estimate of material losses and damages done by the floods is three billion AFS, though this estimate is not precise because of heavy snowfalls, therefore access to some of the affected areas and getting the precise figures have not been possible. The precise figures would be released when available.

PRESS RELEASE NO. 91/05  
February 7, 1991



IT WASN'T a surgical strike. Neither was it carpet bombing. This old man was the victim of an earthquake, the sort of catastrophe that has been going on since the days of bows and arrows and will no doubt outlast interplanetary wars. It happened on February 1st in the mountains of the Hindu Kush and devastated parts of north-east Afghanistan and northern Pakistan. At least 1,200 people died, well out of the sight of television cameras. Insurance companies call such disasters "acts of God". Islamic fundamentalists curiously agree: the earthquake, they said, was God's punishment on Pakistan for siding with the allies in the Gulf war.

The Economist 2/9

#### FROM THE IRANIAN PRESS

The following articles are from Kayhan-e Hawa'i. Translated by Eden Naby, they appeared in the issue of 12/5/90:

The Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran denied any meetings of Iranian officials with Najib, the Prime Minister of the regime ruling in Kabul. A Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that despite foreign reports to the contrary, no discussions took place with Najib about the Iranian role in ending the conflict in Afghanistan. The plane carrying Najib stopped in Meshhed due to a fire. The spokesman added, "The IRI believes that the solution of the political future of Afghanistan is in the hands of Muslims & Mujahideen of that country." He also denied any meetings between Najib & the leaders of the Afghan Mujahideen residing in Iran. (dated 11/27)

BBC by broadcasting 2 news items tries to put into question the subject of Iranian relations with Afghanistan. The British Gov't Radio - BBC - in a broadcast on 11/25, by referring to a brief stop of the airplane bearing the President of Afghanistan, Najibullah, in Meshhed while on his return from Geneva, said Afghan sources say that in Meshhed, Najibullah met with Iranian officials & with heads of the union of 9 Afghan Mujahideen groups located in Iran. BBC, when faced with the denial of such a meeting by both the heads of Afghan groups as well as the Iranian Foreign Ministry, in an interview with Abdul Ali Mazari, the person responsible for the political committee of the Party of Islamic Unity, tried to resurrect the subject of Iran's aims in Afghanistan. Mazari, in this BBC interview, said, "We had not information about his (Najib's) visit to Meshhed & heard about it through you (BBC). We declare that the Party of Islamic Unity is not prepared to meet, under any circumstances, with any one or any regime which has been responsible for martyring close to 1 million persons & causing such suffering. We would not expect that the Islamic Republic, which prides itself on its revolution, would meet with such a person. Therefore, from our perspective any such meeting or meetings are forbidden." (dateline: Tehran 11/29)

Sibghatullah Mujadidi, the President of the Provisional Gov't of the Afghan Mujahideen located in Peshawar, declared his trip to the Islamic Republic of Iran very fruitful. In an interview at Peshawar airport upon his return, he thanked the IRI for its welcome & was pleased about his visit to Herat through Meshhed. In the same manner he was satisfied with his meetings with the United Party of Islamic Afghan Mujahideen located in Tehran & valued the results of these discussions.. Mujadidi arrived in Tehran toward the last part of Aban (mid-October) & engaged in an exchange of views with high ranking Iranian officials about the latest events in Afghanistan. Also he visited Herat Province from Meshhed & inspected Mujahideen fortifications & met with commanders & various groups. The trip by Mujadidi to Tehran & Herat coincided with a stepping up of Afghan Muslim Mujahideen activities in diverse parts of Afghanistan... Mujadidi thanked Iranian brothers & sisters for their reception of Afghan refugees for the past 11 years. In his thank-you message - made widely available to Iranian newspapers - Mujadidi stressed to the Afghan refugees living in Iran the need to obey all Iranian laws & to behave in ways acceptable under Islam & according to human decency. (dated 11/29)

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This Year's AUSTRIAN RELIEF COMMITTEE CALENDAR features miniature paintings of Afghanistan from the Behzad Miniature Art Centre in Islamabad. The Centre is run by Ahmad Ali Shahdad, a graduate of the Fine Arts Faculty of Kabul University. The Centre teaches young Afghan refugee artists the techniques of traditional Afghan miniature art. It receives financial support from the Norwegian Committee for Afghanistan.





# MINE WARFARE - AN AID ISSUE

## Introduction

In February 1989, when the final contingents of the Soviet army withdrew from Afghanistan one Russian field commander is reported to have told an Afghan: 'We may be going home but our mines will kill your grandchildren'. This was no idle boast, rather a prophetic statement, and over a year later the fatalities and maimings caused by land-mines continue unabated. De-mining teams have had little impact on this huge problem and, as the *jihad* gives way to a divisive civil and tribal conflict, successive seasons of snow, rain and baking sun make the detection and removal of mines more difficult.

The lingering nature of the Afghan conflict is an all too familiar scenario and one likely to be repeated in other parts of the world in the coming decades. But one aspect in which the Afghan situation differs from others is the involvement of Relief Agencies in mines-related programmes - this ranges from mine-awareness instruction for refugees to physical mine eradication in Afghanistan to enable their safe return. Almost inevitably this involvement became, and continues to be, a fractious issue, both on moral and technical grounds.

While politicians can negotiate ceasefires and even arrange for mass weapons amnesties, they can do nothing to stop the continued slaughter wrought by mines. Land mines are weapons that recognise no armistice, are indiscriminate in operation and are cheap and durable. They may well kill or maim the grandchildren of the soldiers who laid them. *Jane's Military Logistics Manual* lists 76 pages of different types of mines in use by the major armed forces of the world, and the list is by no means comprehensive. As scientists invent new high technology devices, the old, equally lethal, models are unloaded onto the surplus arms market or supplied as military assistance to groups like the Afghan Mujahideen. In Afghanistan, and elsewhere, mines are an aid issue that cannot be ignored.

There are strong arguments against humanitarian agencies becoming operational in such fields as land-mine eradication. However, the presence of mines may present an obstacle to effective relief, rehabilitation and repatriation programmes and threatens the lives and livelihoods of the civilian population on a scale comparable to famine or flood. If, as in the case of Afghanistan, military teams are unable to perform the task,

there would seem to be no humanitarian alternative. In the Afghan situation, UN 'blue beret' teams or similar uniformed groups are not an option. While relief efforts move ahead, the war between Najibullah's forces and the Mujahideen continues and such a force would, at worst, be the target for both armed and political assault. Even in the best scenario, it would only serve to confuse an already complex situation.

The purpose of this article is, therefore, not to question the rights and wrongs of UN and NGO involvement in mine eradication, but to examine the Afghan situation from a

technical standpoint and attempt to extract relevant lessons which may prove of use to agencies involved in similar circumstances elsewhere in the world.

## Initial criteria

The primary rules which would dictate a humanitarian operation against mines are as follows:

- \* Where a post-hostility threat to the civilian community exists.
- \* Where vital aid and critical community support programmes are seriously obstructed or made impossible due to the presence of mines.
- \* Where no effective clearance operation is planned by the established authorities.

The latter rule is the key issue in most countries. Any effective programme, except on an extremely localised basis, requires a high level of funding and logistical support. In most foreseeable scenarios, some degree of support and co-operation from government level is a necessity for a successful clearance programme.

## Operational considerations

The United Nations de-mining efforts in Afghanistan met an unexpected delaying factor. This was the lack of relevant technical knowledge among military advisors. Military mine removal training is based on the military need to *breach* minefields (i.e. to clear a path wide enough for advance or retreat) and not the humanitarian necessity of totally eradicating mines. It was only after considerable pressure, predominantly from non-military people with an intimate knowledge of the field situation, that planning and training was adapted to meet real needs.

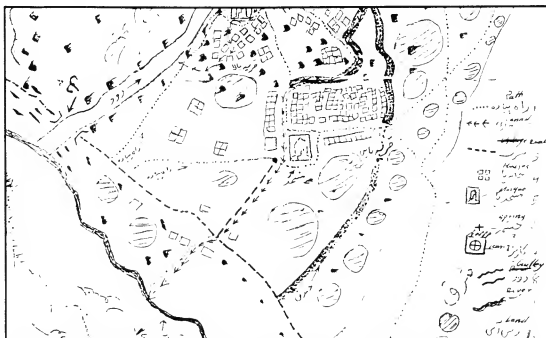
*The key factor in any such programme is that mines are destroyed in situ by explosives or mechanized means.*

Some situations, such as the close proximity of houses, dictate that live mines are removed and then destroyed elsewhere. This calls for the deployment of highly trained specialists. It is not desirable to train large numbers of local personnel to this level of expertise for two reasons:

1. Training costs would be unacceptably high, and more importantly,
2. The temptation for such experts to retain mines for sale or use in local conflicts (a major problem in Afghanistan) presents a considerable risk and defeats the object of the operation.

Any mine eradication programme will be high-cost. Use of cheap and unreliable equipment, inadequate training methods or inappropriately qualified specialists will inevitably cost lives and result in an un dependable and, therefore, irresponsible programme.

Rae McGrath, the author of this article, was with the Mines Advisory Group in Peshawar. The article appeared in *RPN - Refugee Participation Network*, #9, August 1990. The publication is from the Refugee Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St. Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, United Kingdom.



Section of a Community Produced map showing mined terrain in the Shinkorok area of Kunar

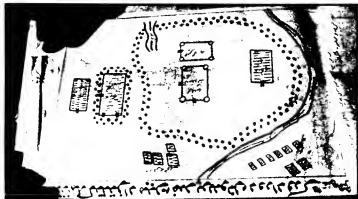
## Technical Considerations

Good initial planning and logical operational progression are the keys to success in mine eradication. The following points provide a working basis for eradication operations.

### 1. Operational Aims

To eradicate mines from a given area and *re-establish community confidence in the land.*

The latter aim is of key importance - if the community believes an area of ground is mined, it must be shown to be clear before it can be brought back into use. This is an essential part of demining operations particularly in rural agricultural communities.



Captured military mine maps Paktika, Afghanistan

Photograph by P. Brize

### 2. Information collation

- Identification of target areas.
- Identification of mines by type.

The communities in target areas are the most valuable source of primary intelligence. Well devised community surveys should be begun as soon as possible to obtain this information before its value deteriorates with the passage of time. A Community Mapping Project mounted by the UN-funded Mines Clearance Planning Agency (MCPA) has provided good initial results and has the added advantage of identifying people with relevant knowledge in participating communities. Where available, military data should be obtained. Of particular value is information relating to the spatial patterning of mines in specific areas. Minefield maps are obviously useful, although it should not be forgotten that false maps may have been produced to confuse an enemy force. Military data will usually provide the best primary source of information concerning the types of mines sown and, through UN and other high-level channels, it may be possible to access intelligence from government and embassy sources, given a general acceptance of the humanitarian nature of the task.

As soon as practicable, specialist teams should be deployed to survey selected areas in detail to identify and confirm the kinds of devices likely to be encountered by de-mining teams. They should make initial recommendations concerning equipment, personnel and training requirements.

Where mine dissemination is widespread, surveys should be an on-going process on two levels:

- Specialist technical surveys immediately prior to eradication operations in each area.
- Widespread community surveys to assist long term operational planning.

### 3. Specialist staff

Where the political or security situation does not allow for intervention by a UN blue-beret team (as employed, for instance, in Namibia) it is unlikely that any form of direct military assistance would be available. This should not, however, tempt NGOs to undertake a 'do-it-yourself' operation, since this would be foolhardy, dangerous and ultimately unsuccessful. Civilian specialists of a high technical calibre do exist and can be retained, normally on a consultancy basis, through reputable companies. Naturally such work demands a high premium and potential employers should be suspicious of operatives who offer their services at low rates. While retaining staff through a consultancy entails an additional expense, it is

unlikely that an individual could obtain adequate insurance for such work to indemnify the employing agency against accidents.

### 4. Training

Probably the most telling lesson learned as a result of the Afghanistan programme is that training of indigenous demining staff must concentrate on quality rather than quantity. Of the 10,000 plus Afghans trained by UN military teams in Pakistan, fewer than 5% have shown any inclination to put their training into practice in Afghanistan.

Courses must be tailored to the local situation and the intellectual ability of the trainees, and be conducted in as realistic an environment as is feasible. They should concentrate on the search for, and destruction of mines. Trainees must be exposed, at an early stage of training, to live detonations and perform supervised live search and eradication tasks before the completion of their course. Team leaders can be provisionally identified at this stage and recalled for advanced training after a period of satisfactory deployment in the field.

One possibility to be considered is mobile training teams which provide instruction to selected trainees at community level. Equipment can then be provided on loan for clearance of designated areas of the locality. This method has much to recommend it where mines are plentiful. It has proved successful in a pilot programme implemented in Paktia Province of Afghanistan during 1989/90. However, such projects should be closely monitored and specialist staff should be on call to provide technical advice and support. Care should also be taken to allocate tasks within the technical capability of the teams.

### 5. Equipment

De-mining equipment should be of the highest standard. It should be noted that, as with most tools, detection gear is only effective and safe in the hands of adequately trained operatives. The range and type of equipment will depend upon the task to be undertaken and should be determined by specialist staff with the necessary technical knowledge. An early attempt by a non-specialist to procure equipment for the UN Afghan programme led to the embarrassing and potentially dangerous purchase of hundreds of toy 'treasure' detectors. These were cheap (less than \$20 each) and totally useless. By comparison, a good mine detector, providing both audio and visual indication and a suitable level of sensitivity, would be unlikely to cost less than \$900 per copy even when purchased in quantity.

The increasing production and deployment of 'non-detectable' plastic mines (such as the Italian manufactured TC-6 supplied to the Mujahideen and laid in great numbers throughout Afghanistan) calls for additional detection techniques, usually the use of specially trained dogs. These animals are expensive to train, the costs normally involve an integral breeding programme, and require purpose-trained handlers. Where such 'non-detectable' mines have been heavily disseminated, this may be the only course of effective action in areas where mechanised clearance is not an option.

Undoubtedly the most effective technique for clearing high densities of mines, including plastic devices, is to employ purpose-manufactured vehicles which disrupt or detonate mines by impact. The UN implementation agency has recently imported two Aardvark Flail Units for use in Afghanistan. The limiting factor of such an approach is the high initial cost of such machinery (an Aardvark Flail Unit costs approximately \$255 000), however, in a situation as serious as Afghanistan, speed and safety of operation outweigh the high price of the investment.

It should be emphasised that Flails do not provide a total solution. Although they expedite clearance considerably in suitable areas, manual teams and possibly dogs are still a requirement.

### 6. Monitoring and Support

Until a sufficient level of technical proficiency has been acquired, indigenous teams should be accompanied, or closely

Monitoring teams should consist of personnel qualified to physically check areas claimed to be clear and should, as such, be fully equipped as a clearance team. Survey teams conducting technical surveys and marking operations prior to clearance should also be subject to monitoring, since their task helps the eventual effectiveness of the overall operation.

Intensive monitoring of clearance operations is essential and must concentrate on the following key issues:

- Destruction of all mines
- Good record keeping and mapping of cleared areas
- Correct safety procedures
- Use of effective eradication techniques
- Security of explosive stores and equipment

supported by a fully qualified specialist. It is unlikely that this level of expertise would be reached within six months and a year is probably a realistic period in most circumstances. Some level of technical support should remain available, even to experienced teams, throughout the programme.

From the Editor:

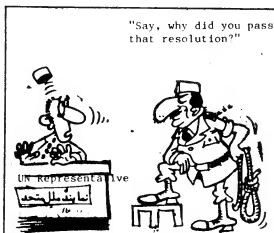
Our source in the State Dept. says don't expect any action on Afghanistan in the near future since, at the moment, there's no Soviet Ambassador in Washington to talk to - and everybody's mind is on other things, as we well know.

Originally this publication was formed to bring interested people the news from Afghanistan, back in the days when Kabul was the fountainhead & most people had never heard of the place. Well, most of the news we see still comes from Kabul, so rhetoric reigns. The unidentified cartoons come from the Kabul Weekly News, thanks to a source in their Foreign Ministry. The translations are by C.J. Brunner & M. Mohammadi.

To our question on the renewal form, fewer pages, fewer issues or more money, most people checked more money; but fear not, the subscription price will not rise until next year.

We would like to emphasize again how much we depend on our readers for information. Without you, the FORUM would not exist - either financially or editorially. So if you see, hear or even smell anything even remotely connected with Afghanistan, let us know. If postage is a problem, we'll send you some stamps! And we thank all of you who did send items. The deadline for the next issue is 4/15.

March 21 marks the beginning of the Afghan year 1370. We hope it will be a lucky number for Afghanistan.



## EVENTS

Vanishing Jewels: Central Asian Tribal Weavings is the subject of an exhibition at the Rochester Museum & Science Center, 657 East Avenue, Rochester, NY. The exhibition runs through April 28. (See p.30 for information about the catalogue.)

A lecture series on the Art & Culture of Iran will be held at The Asia Society, 725 Park Avenue, New York, NY. On March 19, Stuart Cary Welch will speak on painting; Jonathan Bloom will discuss architecture on March 26; Layla Diba will present the decorative arts on April 2; & David Stronach will talk about gardens on April 9. The price for individual lectures is \$10.

"Amir: An Afghan Refugee Musician's - Life in Peshawar" will be shown at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in New Orleans, April 11-14. Catherine Asher will present a paper on "Manifestations of Legitimacy in Mughal Art" on Apr. 13.

The Cultural Council of the Afghanistan Resistance organized a 4-day seminar in Islamabad Nov. 29-Dec. 2. The topic was reconstruction. Proceedings will be published in Fardai Afghanistan-i-Islami. M.S. Noorzoy spoke on refugees & reconstruction.

"Responding to the Nutrition Crisis of Refugees: The Need for New Approaches" will be the topic of an int'l symposium sponsored by the University of Oxford's Refugee Study Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, 21 St. Giles, Oxford, UK, from March 17-20.

The Anahita Gallery in Santa Monica, CA, is presenting its 3rd annual Afghanistan Show & Sale at the Topanga Community House, 1440 No. Topanga Canyon Blvd. in the Canyon, on April 20 & 21 from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. There will be jewelry, carpets, furniture, kilims, ikats, costumes, embroidery, etc. The proceeds will go to the Int'l Medical Corps. For further information call the Gallery at (213) 455-2310.

# Using the Plurastic Democracy Approach to Foster Women in Development Programs in Islamic Societies

By Sima Wali

The issue of how to build pluralistic democracies is of great interest in the wake of so many historic events in Eastern Europe. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is actively involved in promoting U.S. development policy in Eastern Europe by encouraging the private sector and other previously uninvolved parties to become partners in the democratic movements there. Those of us working in the field of development with a special focus on refugee women, are enviously observing this process and lament the lack of similar initiatives for the Third World.

For several decades the U.S. Agency for International Development has provided development assistance to Third World countries. While it is significant that current historic events in Eastern Europe and U.S. foreign policy objectives are coinciding, where does this leave the Third World? The turmoil in Afghanistan has resulted in over one million dead, several million internally displaced and more than 5 million refugees. This chaotic situation, in the absence of a commitment from the United States to introduce positive change, has resulted in the emergence of fundamentalist extremism where there previously was none. This fundamentalism has adversely affected Afghan refugee women. The United States, as a major supporter of the Afghan cause, could have played a central role in the past decade in initiating development programs to benefit the Afghan people in general and Afghan women in particular.

The United States has steadfastly supported the Afghan Resistance which constitutes seven political factions whose rallying point is Islam. The U.S. is also reputedly in favor of supporting the extremist religious factions in Pakistan. There is, therefore, a growing concern about the role that the United States and international organizations have played in inadvertently exacerbating fundamentalism among Afghans. It is common knowledge that prior to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Afghan women had freedom of movement, and actively participated in public life. Due to increased fundamentalism, this is no longer the case.

Current mujahadeen practices, which are mistakenly described simply as "Islamic" practices, restrict Afghan women's freedom of movement, and have set the clock back many years in terms of women's ability to be self-sufficient. Fundamentalist restrictions have made previously independent and productive Afghan women totally dependent on extremist male decision makers who fervently oppose any role for women in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Afghanistan. All of this is happening despite the fact that approximately 80% of the refugee population and potential returnees are women and female children. To exclude them from the process of development is to deny the existence and productive potential of more than half of the Afghan population. The United Nations and its implementing agencies are actively involved in preparing for a massive Afghan repatriation. Amazingly, they also are not specifically including women in their development and reconstruction plans, for fear of reprisals from fundamentalist extremists.

I recently visited Pakistan as a member of the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children's delegation, which is under the auspices of the International Rescue Committee. During that trip, both rural and urban Afghan women expressed fears that they have been relegated to non-entities. They are innocent victims suffering from the very real consequences of UN and US policy decisions that deny special support to Afghan women. Fundamentalist attacks on women's programs are becoming commonplace, with little punitive action emerging from the host country or the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, whose mandate is the protection of refugees.

Despite the threats, abductions, and murders, Afghan women are willing to risk their lives daily to continue their work. But they are in dire need of solidarity from the West and the international community. They are partners in development and see themselves as playing an important role in the development and reconstruction of their country. Their work is their own Jihad for social change and justice for women.

In current U.S. allocation of humanitarian assistance for Afghans, there are no provisions for earmarking some of that assistance for women-specific programs. This means that funding targeted for humanitarian assistance is funnelled to programs lead by Afghan men who, because of "Islamic" practices, leave women out of the development process. Development specialists and advocates are deeply concerned that the opportunities to introduce and promote a pluralistic society in that region of the world have been lost. Early promotion of development programs for women would have planted the seed which over the last decade could have borne fruit by encouraging attitudinal changes among the male-dominated fundamentalist leaders. That opportunity has been lost, but it is not too late to bring about some changes.

The 1991 UN General Assembly and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are confronted with the challenge of protecting female Afghan refugees. The key to meeting this challenge lies in developing a programmatic response to the unique needs of Afghan women. Since Afghan women know best how to deal with the current problem, it is imperative that they are included in devising responses and proposing solutions. But they need the commitment of the United States government and the international community. Funds must be earmarked for development programs for Afghan women, and the Afghan women themselves must be involved in the implementation of such programs.

*Sima Wali is Executive Director of a national non-profit organization. She was recently invited by the United Nations in Vienna, Austria to present a paper on Refugee Women and Development at the Expert Group Meeting on Refugee and Displaced Women and Children. She recently visited Pakistan as a delegate of the International Rescue Committee's Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children.*

The AFGHAN NETWORKER 12/24/90  
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# Reactions of Mujahideen and Refugees

Various arguments have been put forward with regard to supporting or rejecting the pilot project of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), for the repatriation of Afghan Refugees. The Mujahideen as well as the refugees, being the basic components and main parties to the Afghanistan issue, have termed the U.N Repatriation Project, "as untimely" and "unrealistic."

We reproduce here some of the reactions from certain resistance leaders, field commanders and ordinary refugees, living in the camps:

The President of the Afghan Interim Government, Professor Sibghathullah Mujadeddi, gave his reaction about the U.N project for the Afghan Refugees in the following words:

"The war has not yet ended, and the communist regime still remains there. Therefore, in the existing circumstances, the very idea of the returning of refugees, back to their homes, is meaningless and unreasonable."

The Prime Minister of the AIG and leader of IttehadIslami Afghanistan, Professor Abdurrah Rasul Sayyaf, termed it as "a conspiracy against the Afghan nation and an illintentioned plot against the current Islamic struggle of the Mujahideen"

Generally, the Mujahideen believe that war, the real cause of their emigration to foreign countries, still exists very much. How is it, then, possible for the refugees to return to their homes, at a time when there is war and there is no viable security in the country?

Eng. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of HezbIslamiAfghanistan, says: "In spite of the fact that the military forces of the Soviet Union have fled Afghanistan, its imported regime is still intact in Kabul. Therefore, the intent of Jihad is still there, with the same force as before."

"The Afghan Refugees will return only when an Islamic government is established in their country, peace is restored and the Afghans are given the right of selfdetermination."

Almost all the groups and factions of the Mujahideen have agreed on this point, that unless a correct and proper

program is prepared for the repatriation of the refugees, any step taken by the United Nations, is doomed to failure.

Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, leader of JamaiteIslamiAfghanistan and the Reconstruction Minister of AIG, says: "While the communist regime has not collapsed so far, and military aid continues unabated, by the Russians, over 50 million mines remain scattered in the country, rocketing of civilian areas continue, agricultural lands have been destroyed and the country having been reduced to ruins, the demand for repatriation of refugees to their country is impossible, unrealistic and is a violation of all the U.N laws and human rights."

Not only the leaders of the Mujahideen, a number of Afghan intellectuals too are opposed to the hasty program of the United Nations.

Mr. Sabahuddin Kushkaki, former Professor of Journalism and exminister of information and culture of Afghanistan, when asked for his commentst on the U.N program for the repatriation of refugees, said:

"Without the political solution of the Afghan issue, and without the solution of the question of the future leadership in Afghanistan, any action on the repatriation of refugees to their country amounts to a naked interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and as such it can only benefit the communists. In a country, where war is continuing, any claim about the existence of so called" peace zones "is only a cruel joke."

The religious scholars and Afghan clergymen, who enjoy special respect amongst the people of Afghanistan, have also condemned the repatriation program of refugees; under existing conditions in their meetings and declarations.

Islamic scholars at Surkhab, Gardi Jungle camps in Quetta (Balochistan) and Peshawar NWFP cities of Pakistan, in the course of public meetings and religious decrees have termed the repatriation of refugees at the present time as a "conspiracy against Jihad."

In a statement issued by the refugees in Quetta, it has been declared that "under the prevailing con-

ditions the repatriation of refugees to Afghanistan has no Islamic validity."

The Mujahideen commanders, who control most of the rural regions of Afghanistan, have also opposed the U.N program. Commander Jalaluddin Haqqani of Paktia province says: "From the Islamic point of view we are totally against the returning of the refugees to their country as the emigration had taken place as a result of war and for the sake of Jihad."

"As the war has not ended, the return of refugees at present, is in contrast with their main goals."

He added, "areas which lie under the control of the Mujahideen and in which the returnees feel safe about their security, we are not against their repatriation to those areas. They are free to go and we are not creating any hurdles in their way."

Commander Eng. Ahmad Shah Masuod, chief of the Supervisory Council of JamaiteIslami says:

"Till such a time when the real causes of war ie the atrocities of the communist regime in Afghanistan are removed, the refugees can not return to their country".

Commander Abdul Haq of Kabul, who belongs to Hezbe Islami (Khalis), while criticizing the United Nations program, in a statement issued in Peshawar, declared:

"The United Nations program has been undertaken at the behest of Kabul regime. Since the Mujahideen were not involved in its formulation, neither they accept it nor shall they act upon it. Thirty million dollars of the said program have been allocated for the Kabul regime, while only one 6th of it has been demarcated for the refugees based in Pakistan."

"The United Nations also directly helps the Ismaeli militia, led by the son of SayedeKayyan, while depriving the Peshawarbased Mujahideen from all sorts of aid."

Colin G. Mitchel, the Director of UNHCR in Peshawar, denies any direct aid to the Kabul regime and believes that the refugees keenly await the return to their country but only continued war has prolonged their expectations.

Most of the immigrants living in

refugee camps in Balochistan and the North West Frontier province of Pakistan, when asked, "would they return to their homeland?", gave positive responses of "Yes". They, in turns, posed to the interviewer the following questions:

"Will our life be safe in Afghanistan?" "Won't there be mines in our agricultural fields?" "Where will we go, if war breaks out again?" "Haven't storms, rains, war and lack of maintainance, destroyed our homes?" "Does any school exist for our children?" "Will we have any doctors and medicine, in case we fall sick?" "Won't the war planes of the regime target us?"

Abdur Rahman Alukozay, a resident of Arghandab district in Kandahar province, who lives in the Surkhhab camp of Balochistan, says:

"I am not against returning to my country, I do want to return. But I don't know whose house, I will stay at after my return?"

He further adds: "I can not reach Kandahar with Rs.3300 (136 dollars) of cash and can not sustain my family with 300 Kg wheat, provided by the United Nations."

Abdul Latif, an elderly man and a chieftain of his tribe, who lives in Jun-geePir Alizai camp of Balochistan, says:

"The total absence of basic civil amenities and facilities of daily life, in the so called "Security Zones", is the main reason for nonrepatriation of refugees."

Haji Abdul Mateen, a resident of Kabul, who has been away from his home for the past eight years and lives in Jalala Camp of NWFP, says with a sense of sorrow and bitterness:

"Ten years ago in broad daylight the communists took away my two sons from my home. For many long years, I made several presentations to the communist regime authorities. They even refused to let me know whether my sons were alive or dead? "Henceforth, I was forced to emigrate to Pakistan. Now you tell me it is proper for me to befool myself by the false "patriotic" claims of the communists, and go back to the killers of my sons? The authorities of the Kabul regime are the murderers of over one and a half million Afghans. As long as these communists remain in power, none of the refugees will return to Afghanistan?"

He added: "Since the past eight years, we have been longing for the sunrise of peace and to return to our own country. Unless the refugees are fully satisfied that their life and honor will be safe and secure, they can not return to their country"

Thousands of refugees, like Haji Mateen, are keenly awaiting the creation of secure and safe conditions for their repatriation. They are eagerly counting the days.

When conditions become conducive, a great number of the aspiring refugees will not ever wait for aid provision of the United Nations, and will go immediately.



a publication of the Afghan Media Resource Center, UPO Box 909, Peshawar, Pakistan.

THE COST OF FREEDOM, Sept.-Dec. 1990. Pp. 8 & 9,



# ORGANIZATIONS

## CAHSO CONFERENCE

At the Afghanistan Relief Committee's Conference of Afghanistan Humanitarian Support Organizations, held Feb. 8, 9 & 10 in New York City, the focus was on the present & future roles of PVOs (Private Voluntary Organizations), a.k.a. NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations), vis-a-vis each other, Afghans, the UN, USAID & other gov't donors to Afghan humanitarian relief. Representatives from the UN, some NGOs, the USAID office for Afghanistan, the Commander's Shura, as well as a number of interested observers took part.

It was evident that most NGOs were unhappy with many UN operations, feeling that the UN, with its massive bureaucracy & reportedly vast wealth, had not paid proper respect to the NGOs that have been working for the Afghan cause, primarily from Pakistan, for many years.

The UN representatives stressed that much of the money raised for the Afghan cause was earmarked by the donor countries for refugee repatriation. That most of the refugees have not yet gone back to Afghanistan may be unfortunate, but the fact remains that much of the UN money cannot be used for refugees outside Afghanistan. They also said that funds are limited & that NGO proposals must be tailored to fit into the UN scheme. For other projects, NGOs will have to use their own general funds. Since 8/90, NGOs in Pakistan have not received any UN aid. To save funds, UNOCA will phase out its office in Geneva & concentrate on the quickest, most expedient ways to get aid into Afghanistan: ergo, more money will be filtered through Kabul. The UN says it does not have to "identify implementation" to the Kabul Gov't & that its aid is non-political. The new buzz-word is "cross-line" project - meaning from gov't to non-gov't areas under the auspices of the UN.

Through 1990, USAID contributed \$130m through NGOs & contractor groups for humanitarian assistance. The emphasis

is on training Afghans in Pakistan to go into Afghanistan to set up programs, primarily in medicine & education. The rationale is that Afghans must learn to run their own affordable institutions with community, village & shura support. Communities will have to pay salaries & overhead, only using foreign assistance for supplies such as textbooks & pharmaceuticals, etc. [Shura seems to have replaced jirga as the word for a group of influential Afghans.Ed.] Since the UN ordered US Gov't personnel & contractors out of Pakistan in January, the USAID to Afghanistan office is now in Virginia so AID Afghanistan officials will have an opportunity to see if the Afghans can keep the programs running & keep proper accounts. AID Afghanistan has a \$60m budget for 1991 with \$60m promised for 1992.

Jon Bennett, Executive Director of ACBAR, addressed the group on 2/10. The following is excerpted from his remarks:

"In the shadow of the Gulf War it has never been more urgent to review future prospects for aid to Afghanistan. Some of you will have watched with alarm the number of aid agencies whose expatriates swiftly evacuated Pakistan in the wake of pro-Saddam rallies. You might also have seen the writing on the wall as some NGO contracts were not renewed, the UN balked at the thought of having to raise an extra \$100m from a handful of reluctant donors, & to cap it all, this month the AIG closed entire ministries, putting some 20,000 Afghans in Peshawar out of work....

"In 1988 some \$400m of UN & bilateral aid was spent on Afghan refugees in Pakistan. By 1990, this figure had dropped by one third, despite the fact that over 3m refugees remain. UNHCR is virtually bankrupt, rations have been reduced & repatriation, though improbable, is an established precondition of future funding... The shortfall in official assistance to refugees has in part been offset by an increased amount spent by NGOs. With about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of their funding coming from the UN, it is these organizations that will reflect the success or failure of aid efforts in uncertain times... The 61 members of the Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief (ACBAR) spent \$68m in 1988 on refugee & cross-border work; by 1990 this had

risen to \$108m. The signs are that the reduction in 1991 will be less than 10%. In addition, the 12 Islamic agencies under the umbrella of the Islamic Coordination Council (ICC) spent \$40m on Afghanistan in 1990. Funded primarily by Saudi Arabia & Kuwait, this latter group has been deeply affected by the Gulf crisis & some education & health centers will be forced to close.

"Afghans have always viewed with grave misgivings the notion of foreign aid as a solution to the nation's woes. One has only to glance at recent history to discover why. In the 1950s, foreign aid transformed the royal lineage into a major economic power. It became an employer & constructor as never before, & access to state influence defined the position of a person in society. Yet the allocation of resources was not controlled by any democratic process. When the Soviets in 1955 offered \$100m at only 2% interest, it was not without strings attached. The Soviets became the trainers of the military & intelligentsia alike, with most of the Afghan people having little idea of the enveloping crisis that was to hit them in 1978.... The key players in the aid circuit in the 1990s might have changed, but the pitfalls remain the same. The signing of the Geneva Accords in March 1988 provided a springboard for what appeared to be a huge amount of aid money for Afghanistan. Sadly, unfulfilled expectations have led to impatience with what is now termed a "civil war." Yet 10 years of overt & covert military & humanitarian intervention must yield a level of moral responsibility within the int'l community for a post-Cold War Afghanistan. And the weapons of reconstruction will cost a fraction of the weapons of original destruction....

"There are some worrying side effects of the rapid increase in cross-border activities in the last 2 years. 101 NGOs in Pakistan serve Afghans, of which 75 are foreign NGOs (14 North American, 43 Europeans, 18 others). Of the 101, 73 have projects inside Afghanistan. more than double the number of only 3

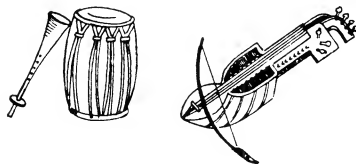
years ago. ACBAR's 61 members spent over \$68m on cross-border activities in 1990, compared to only \$31m in 1988. One would hope that this upward trend could be accompanied by an equal increase in professional efficiency. Sadly, it is not always the case....

"Much has been said about the importance of Afghan NGOs & of upgrading skills within the existing NGO community. There are now 26 Afghan NGOs, many of which have been created with UN finance. Some donors have assumed that the creation of new Afghan NGOs is an end in itself. They are wrong. Experience shows that for an Afghan NGO to be fully integrated into the reconstruction process & to have the ability to draw upon int'l funds, more is required than simply placing Afghans in positions of responsibility. Credibility & equal status in a competing environment require a reversal of traditional attitudes by both giver & receiver. Int'l NGOs need training in how & when to hand over their skills &, more importantly, their influential role as power-brokers... 1991 will be the year when radical reassessments of foreign aid to Afghanistan are made. If this is so, it must also be the year when empowerment is transformed from rhetoric into reality.... " [An article on Afghan NGOs appears on p.25.]

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MUSIC OF AFGHANISTAN, a cassette prepared by Aziz Herawi, contains about an hour of Afghan music, most of which was recorded at WORLD MUSIC INSTITUTE concerts between 1987-1990. The cassette is available from WMI, 49 West 27th St., #810, New York, NY 10001. The cassette is \$9.24 (New York residents add 76¢ sales tax) plus \$3.00 postage & handling.

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## INTRODUCTION TO AFGHAN NGOS

The following is from a report prepared for the Afghan Relief Committee Conference by Jane Thomas, a Canadian who has been working in Peshawar with the Afghan NGOs:

If one good thing has come out of the tragedy in Afghanistan it is that Afghans have begun forming their own non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for relief, development, reconstruction & rehabilitation. By the end of 1990 at least 35 indigenous NGOs had emerged. Most are less than 2 years old.

So far, there is no commonly agreed definition of what constitutes an Afghan NGO, but the above 35 can be described thusly: all have offices or other presence in Peshawar; each is headed by educated Kabulis who have been refugees for much of the war - most were formerly civil servants or faculty members at Kabul University - a few are former mujahideen commanders; two or three are spin-offs from foreign NGOs but most have no prior experience; most work exclusively in Afghanistan but a few work both in refugee camps & inside, primarily in the Eastern provinces; there is a strong emphasis on construction projects.

UNOCA has collected basic data & organizational information but it has not yet been compiled or published. The following are a few examples from my experience:

RAFA (Reconstruction Authority for Afghanistan) - Originally formed by the AIG, RAFA was to be the main Afghan NGO & was given a very broad mandate: to coordinate all sectors, be the liaison between UN, foreign & other Afghan NGOs & the AIG. In 1989, an agreement was made between RAFA, USAID & UNOCA. USAID would provide administrative funding, UNOCA would facilitate UN project funds. As RAFA had a strong technical capacity, construction projects received priority. Unfortunately its implementing capacity has not yet been tested. Over 70 construction projects were designed & submitted but, through no known fault of RAFA, only about a dozen were funded. This has made RAFA appear to be an under-achiever & now administrative funding is in question. RAFA has not yet played the leadership role intended for it, although that potential remains. It is an NGO, distinctly separate from the AIG, even though Rabbani, AIG Minister of Reconstruction, is the figurehead chairman of the board. RAFA's potential comes not only from the unusually high proportion of technical professionals (about 50 graduated engineers, etc.,) but from the fact that its board members & staff represent all 7 political parties.

MSOA (Muslim Sisters of Afghanistan) is probably the oldest, biggest & has, by far, the widest grass-roots involvement of all the Afghan NGOs. It specialized in female education with 54 primary & secondary schools in Pakistan, Iran & inside Afghanistan. In 1990 it opened the first university for refugee women, with a total enrollment of about 11,000. It has about 3,500 volunteers. All staff & teachers work for free or a token payment of 600 rupees/month. Formed in 1980, what little money MSOA has had came from the Gulf. In 1990, for the first time, they began applying for grants. Its total operating budget for 1991 is \$300,000. Walking around a MSOA high school or the university you see all staff & students dressed in a blue or black hijab & using every square foot of the sparsely furnished, cramped buildings. At the university there are no textbooks so each teacher starts the class by dictating from a text & students hand write their own copy. Parental support for the schools is high & MSOA could easily double enrollment if it had the money. MSOA has continued to operate through times of heavy local opposition. Although many Westerners would like to see Afghan females get more opportunities, MSOA has a difficult time raising funds. MSOA goes under the Jamiat banner but students come from all 7 parties.

SJA (Sayad Jamaluddin Afghani Welfare Organization) - SJA was formed by a group of 40 commanders who run the program. Mujahideen veterans are selected by shuras inside Afghanistan to come to Peshawar to learn blacksmithing & welding so that they can return to their villages & set up shop. SJA hopes to add a leather tanning course. A literacy component has also been added so that the mujahid is not only a blacksmith, but can also teach reading & writing as well as run his business. Haji Ghulam Dastagir, head of SJA, has letters from commanders from all parties all over Afghanistan pleading for the same training to be offered in many places inside. But he

cannot find the funds to secure the program as it is (about \$60,000 per 40 graduates for training up to 9 months). UNDP provided funds for the first sessions in 1990 but has been unable to meet the later demands. This NGO oozes with vitality, fun, creativity & resourcefulness. The UNDP project officer told me that in his 30 years of field work he had "never-seen a more exciting, well-managed operation." The commanders involved are active or former commanders of Hezb-i-Islami Hekmatyar.

ARYANA - Formed in mid-1990, Aryana is perhaps the only Afghan NGO that has raised a significant amount of money from Afghans overseas. Aryana is another construction organization. While it has as yet received no grants, it does have 8 large trucks. When the trucks are not working on Aryana's own projects, such as ferrying emergency winter supplies (clothes & food) to Bamiyan, the trucks are generating income for Aryana by doing deliveries for other organizations.

T & P (Telecommunications & Power) - Late in 1990 a group of 60 former professionals in the telecommunications & power industries organized to begin researching their roles for their country. Although many would consider T & P a luxury at this time, these men want to put their skills to work.

A clear picture of the funding of Afghan NGOs does not exist. But the main complaint of all is the universal problem, shaky administrative funding. Most try to piece together administrative funds by having several projects funded. But since project funding has become so unreliable, the administration of all these NGOs is in jeopardy.

There has been much talk & many ideas generated on how to help Afghan NGOs. Some were given start-up assistance by UNOCA, small amounts of cash usually equivalent to the salaries for a chief administrator & an accountant. UNOCA has also offered to pay tuition for management courses NGO staff might wish to take. When I was hired by UNOCA last September for the Afghan NGO Pilot Project, I was the only person working full time solely on the subject of Afghan NGOs.

Internally there is growing dissatisfaction, resentment & bitterness because the Afghan NGOs feel they are being ignored. UNOCA did, perhaps, unwittingly invite high expectations of the NGOs by prompting them to form. To a certain extent the NGOs see UNOCA as their "head office," which, if true, would not be a healthy relationship. Funders & fundees everywhere in the world have separate interests. As funding gets more limited, internal dissatisfaction gets more urgent. In December 1990, Afghan NGOs complained that UNOCA was proceeding with a plan for 1991 without consulting the indigenous NGOs. There was further worry when a UNOCA representative announced that UNOCA would start working directly with shuras.

In Peshawar, amongst foreign aid workers, there's a somewhat negative attitude about Afghan NGOs. They see some of the indigenous NGOs as artificial entities, referring to them as "the ones UNOCA started." A funder's representative referred to them as "proposal mills," implying opportunism. In fact, many of the 35 NGOs do not have bases of support. They have not risen from communities. They are Peshawar offices which work where money is available; their work follows the priorities of their funders & funders have not specified that they expect NGOs to be representative of a community.

No discussion has occurred on what an Afghan NGO is to be. Everyone assumes there is understanding where there is not. If Afghans are to follow the Western model, then volunteerism, community representativeness & being accountable to a community are areas in which all Afghan NGOs need training & development.



The Afghan Nat'l Islamic Council in New York marked the grand opening of the Ahmad Shah the Great Library on 10/27/90.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Located at 46-26 Kissena Blvd. in Queens (phone: 718-445-6925), the library features precious manuscripts & other hard-to-find books in Persian, Pashto, Urdu & Arabic, as well as modern titles in English. The library would welcome donations of books on Afghanistan at

all levels & in any languages. Call M. Halim Salimi for more information. Hours are 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day, but to be safe, call first. This also seems to be a popular place for small Afghan parties. There is an Afghan restaurant across the street. The ANIC also sponsors the Saed Jamaluddin Afghani Mosque in Flushing, NY.

#### HRAC CALENDAR

The Human Rights in Afghanistan Committee, P.O. Box 18, Westmont, IL 60559 has printed an Islamic calendar for the Afghan year 1370 (March 21, 1991 to March 21, 1992). The calendars are approximately 3½" x 8½" and decorated with calligraphy. To order, send a minimum of \$5.00 to HRAC at the above address. Proceeds will be used for aid to Afghan refugees & reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan.



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## Miss Nebraska USA

## Afghanistan Native Aims To Defend Her Freedom

By Kathleen Brown

World-Herald Staff Writer

The life story of 26-year-old Ziba Ayeen — Miss Nebraska USA for 1991 — reads like a script for a television movie.

At age 16, she and a brother fled Communist-occupied Afghanistan to Pakistan. Three months later, they joined their parents in Omaha.

Since then, the dark-haired beauty has worked in a fast-food restaurant, a drugstore, a library and two department stores. She did all these things, she said, "not because I needed the money but because my teacher said it would be a good way to learn more about the American culture and how to speak English."

Miss Ayeen spoke no English when she came to America. All she knew was the alphabet.

Ten years later, the Afghanistan native has graduated from Westside High School, earned a degree in political science from the University of Nebraska at Omaha, graduated from International School of Modeling in Omaha and joined the Nebraska National Guard.

And in April, Miss Ayeen became a U.S. citizen. She lists Nov. 6 on her resume as being her proudest moment. That, she said, was when "I voted for the first time in my life."

What may have been Miss Ayeen's crowning glory came Saturday night when she won the title of Miss Nebraska USA at City Auditorium. She and 12 other contestants were judged in interview, swimwear and evening gown competition.

Miss Ayeen received a \$500 cash scholarship, a \$1,000 wardrobe, a one-year scholarship to UNO and various other gifts.

Less than eight hours after she won the pageant, however, she traded her crown and banner for a battle dress uniform. Miss Ayeen received a leave from the Guard to participate in the pageant and was back in Lincoln Sunday morning. She is a medic and flight operations specialist with the 110th Medical Company.

"After the pageant Saturday night, my roommate and I stayed up talking until 3:30 a.m.," Miss Ayeen said. "I got up at 6 a.m. to be in Lincoln by 7:30. Sunday I was very tired, very excited and very proud." (Miss Ayeen's roommate is Karla Maddux, 29, a substitute teacher with the Omaha School District.)

Miss Ayeen originally was a member of the 24th Medical Air Ambulance



Bill Batson/World-Herald

Miss Ayeen ... The newly crowned Miss Nebraska USA is a native of Afghanistan and a member of the Nebraska National Guard.

lance Company. She was assigned to the 110th when the 24th was activated and sent to Fort Riley, Kan.

When Miss Ayeen learned that she was not among the group now stationed in Kansas, she felt sad.

"Only 117 of the company could go. Sixty of us had to remain behind. I felt as if a part of me were leaving with them. Most are my friends. I know their families. It was very emotional."

Why did the gorgeous, 5-foot-7-inch woman with sky-blue eyes join the Guard?

"I was 16 when the Soviets invaded my homeland. When I immigrated to the U.S. I was determined I would join the military to defend the freedom and the values I believe in."

Why did she enter the beauty contest?

"Mainly for the scholarships and the opportunities. Also, I like to be involved in the community and talk to young people as a role model."

Her advice to potential pageant participants: "Do your best and be yourself. There is competition. But that is healthy, educational. I learned a lot."

"Not everyone can be a winner. If things don't go as smoothly as you would like, turn the situation around and make the best from it. I really

enjoyed being with these women. They all are winners to me. I am glad I met them."

It took Miss Ayeen and her brother, Aref (now 30 years old and a high school teacher in Bakersfield, Calif.), three days to walk across the Afghanistan desert and mountains to the Pakistan border.

"I had to dress as a peasant and cover my face for safety. All we had with us were the clothes we had on," she said in a post-pageant interview. "We had two guides because we didn't know the way."

Miss Ayeen said her father, Ghulam Ai Ayeen, who was a governor of Kabul — the capital of Afghanistan — was the first in the family to come to the United States.

"My father was put in jail as a political prisoner by the Afghanistan Communist Party. We never knew why he was released. That is one of the mysteries we never found out. A lot of his friends were killed by the Communists."

"In 1978, he went to Lincoln, where he had friends. Then he moved to Omaha, where he taught at the Afghanistan Study Center at UNO. My mother (Bibigul Ayeen) came here in 1979, about two months before the Soviets invaded Afghanistan."

In 1986, Miss Ayeen said her parents — who are retired — moved to San Diego, where Miss Ayeen's younger brother, Haroon, 15, also lives.

She has two sisters, Zohra, 32, of Long Island, N.Y., and Suaria, 29, of Houston.

Miss Ayeen speaks Dari and Pashto, the two main languages spoken in Afghanistan, and — of course — English. Her immediate goals: to begin studying for her master's degree in international relations at UNO in January and to prepare for the national Miss USA pageant Feb. 22 in Wichita, Kan. (The Miss USA contest is affiliated with the Miss Universe contest.)

Miss Nebraska USA's long-range goals: to attend officer's candidate school and to be an effective speaker and writer nationally and internationally.

As a pageant finalist, Miss Ayeen was asked by a judge: "As you grow older, and you start to age, how will you accept this aging process? Would you consider cosmetic surgery? How important is your beauty in later life?"

Her answer: "I may have physical beauty now, but my inner beauty and my values are more important. I will spend more time and emphasis nurturing those qualities than on physical appearance. Having lived under Communism, I value my freedom a great deal."

به یک گل بهار  
نی شود  
"One flower  
Doesn't make  
a spring."

Ziba Ayeen participated in the Miss USA pageant which was broadcast nationally on CBS. Unfortunately, she wasn't the winner.

Some Kabul publications & their editors:  
Ya Haq -  
Abdul Haq  
Wala;  
Palwasha -  
Moh'd Tahir  
Mohseni;  
Mahan -  
Zaman Worez;  
Sarbaz -  
Abdurrah  
Akhlaiq;  
Azadi -  
Sakhi  
Chairat

KT 1/15

Omaha World Herald  
n.d.

# ABSTRACTS

AFGHANS SUFFER HIGH COST OF WAR by Nike M. Kamrany in the Fall 1990 issue of Afghanistan Studies Journal.

The war in Afghanistan has cost that country \$645 billion in economic damages; the Soviets have offered the Afghans \$2 billion for economic reconstruction. Kamrany offers this breakdown of the \$645 billion figure: The largest amount consisted of property damages & losses suffered by Afghan citizens. More than 6 million Afghans emigrated to Pakistan, Iran & the rest of the world, sustaining \$268 billion in economic losses, including the value of homes left behind, savings, retirement funds, furniture, businesses, farms, jobs, personal property, etc. Approximately 1 million Afghans were disabled to some extent, sustaining damages of about \$149 billion. He used standard economic formulas for measuring such components as medical care, pain & suffering, & the past & present value of loss of life-time earnings (adjusted for Afghan productivity), based on age, life & work-life expectancy & extent of disability, among other factors. About \$104 billion in damages was sustained by Afghanistan's capital structures & assets. Of the 36,000 villages & hamlets in the country, half have been reported destroyed. Some 10 million animals, or half the country's livestock, were killed. At least 80% of the nation's road system has been damaged. The rest consisted of \$64 billion in losses sustained by the families of persons killed in the war, \$25 billion in income & other assets lost by internal migrants, & \$35 billion in losses sustained because of reduction of the country's GNP.

"The Collision of Evolutionary Process & Islamic Ideology in Greater Central Asia" by Robert Canfield in AFGHANISTAN & THE SOVIET UNION, Edited by Milan Hauner & R.L. Canfield, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 1989.

In the nations of Afghanistan & Iran & in the Muslim republics of Soviet Central Asia, changes are taking place that must be examined over a longer period than many social scientists like to deal with. Economists, for instance, feel they are venturing into an abyss when called upon to forecast more than 6 months ahead. Political scientists - the brave ones - may take as much as 4 years. Anthropologists, such as I am, on the other hand, have not yet shaken their 19th century wont to think in terms of epochs & "stages." When anthropologists speak of "the long term," they refer to evolutionary processes. And evolutionary formulations often run into misunderstandings. I propose to look at two impulses for change that will surely affect political affairs in Greater Central Asia over a long period. Each change is working in a different direction. One, a source of Soviet imperial expansion, acts to shorten distances & so makes more areas accessible to centralized control. The other, a preeminent force among the Muslim populations of Greater Central Asia as well as elsewhere in the Islamic world, acts to strengthen local nationalist, ethnic & sectarian interests. Such interests work against imperial power, at least against the imperial power of a secular state like the Soviet Union. In Afghanistan these two opposing forces have ruinously collided.

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An extract from a UNICEF report on "Afghanistan's Children - The Rough Road to Peace." We excerpted it from THE AFGHAN NETWORKER, P.O. Box 7181, Arlington, VA 22207.

One-fifth of infants die shortly after birth.  
One-third never make it to the age of five.  
Thirty percent of young Afghans suffer from malnutrition.  
One out of 10 is seriously undernourished.  
Up to 500,000 handicapped by illnesses, such as untreated eye diseases and vitamin deficiencies.  
Blindness strikes three percent of Afghan children.

With the threat of famine in many areas, bands of children, some little past the toddling stage, scour roadsides and garbage heaps for twigs or scraps of food.

Some 20 percent of women are war widows, and often lack the means to support their families. Women's average life expectancy estimated to be 42 years.

Health care has been severely disrupted. Thousands of medical professionals and scientists have fled the country. Most rural health clinics have been either heavily damaged or abandoned. At least 1800 schools are thought to have been partly or entirely destroyed.

Some 2,000 teachers have been killed; another 10,000 have taken up arms.

12/24/90

## Louis Dupree Dissertation Research Fellowships



LOUIS DUPREE

Those who knew Louis Dupree never ceased to marvel at his wide range of interests. Louis looked under every rock. His widow, Nancy is anxious to set up a fellowship which would reflect Louis' free-wheeling, interdisciplinary, regional approach to life, including scholarly pursuits, and has been searching for an institutional base to administer such a program. The institution has been found and now it's time to find the funds. Nancy plans to make a substantial contribution, but other money will be needed. Contributions, large or small, will be warmly welcomed. Louis was one of the founding spirits of the FORUM and always a generous contributor of articles, book reviews, bits of gossip, obscure publications and, of course, humor. Louis' jokes were legendary and we suggest that the ability to tell a good story should be one of the criteria for the selection of fellowship candidates! The pertinent information about the fellowships is as follows:

The Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies are organizing a new program to focus fresh scholarly attention on Central Asia and Inner Asia -- that vast stretch of linked lands and cultures stretching from Western China to Eastern Turkey. Subject to funding, a central component of this program will be annual Louis Dupree Dissertation Research Fellowships to encourage and support advanced graduate students to conduct intensive field research in this historically rich, and once again, increasingly important area of the world.

These Fellowships would be open to students in all field of the social sciences and humanities working for the Ph.D. at any university in the United States. There would be no citizenship limitations. Fellowships will cover 12-18 months of field research, plus 6 months of partial write-up support. Awards will include international and domestic travel, a maintenance stipend, and research and local language training costs.

The Councils plan to advertise the Dupree Fellowships widely through their several regular publications and brochures and by a special flyer to be sent to all relevant graduate departments of the major research universities that might be training students as specialists in this world area.

Applications will be received annually, both independently and through the Councils' existing Committees on Soviet Studies, South Asia, Chinese Studies, and the Near and Middle East. Proposals will be reviewed by the Committees and selected by a specially constituted Louis Dupree Fellowship Committee of experts on Central and Inner Asia.

FORUM readers who wish to contribute should make their checks payable to the Social Science Research Council and write, on the check, "for the Louis Dupree Fund." Mail the check to the SSRC, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158. For further information call the SSRC (212) 661-0280, or fax 1-212-370-7896.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

**VANISHING JEWELS: CENTRAL ASIAN TRIBAL WEAVINGS**, edited by H.J. Swinney with essays by George O'Bannon, William Wood, William Irons & Paul Mushak, Rochester Museum & Science Center, 657 East Ave., Box 1480, Rochester, NY 14603-1480, September 1990, 128 pp., 54 color, 74 b&w photos, map. ISBN 0-938551-00-0.

**Vanishing Jewels: Central Asian Tribal Weavings**, a new publication of the Rochester Museum & Science Center, includes 54 color pages of weavings from the Turkmen, Kazakh and Baluch tribes of Afghanistan, Iran and Soviet Russia. Four noted authorities have contributed essays, documented by numerous photographs of daily life in the central Asian region. A glossary and a technical analysis of each weaving also are provided.

The catalog is composed primarily of 19th-century tribal textiles woven for use in the family yurt-home. Weavings are divided into four functional sections cross-cutting tribal lines: *A Bridal Procession. A Clean Place to Pray. Traveling to Pasture and At Home in the Tent.* In this way door rugs from the Saryk, Ersari, Yomut and Tekke Turkmen tribes, for example, can be seen on sequential pages. Similarly, storage bags of the Tekke, Chodor, Yomut and Ersari can easily be compared. Unusual pieces include a festive robe, a bridal-tent band, an eating cloth and special dowry weavings.

Memo für Afghanistan, a report from Peter Högl, President of the Swiss Society of the Friends of Afghanistan, in ZEITBILD 1/91. P. 16.

**WAR IN A DISTANT COUNTRY - AFGHANISTAN: INVASION & RESISTANCE** by David Isby, Arm & Armour Press, London, 1989.

**GREAT GAME: ON SECRET SERVICE IN HIGH ASIA** by Peter Hopkirk, John Murray Publishers Ltd., London, 1990. 572 pp. £17.95

**WHAT IS ASIA TO US?: RUSSIA'S ASIAN HEARTLAND YESTERDAY & TODAY** by Milan Hauner, Unwin Hyman, London, 1990. 264 pp. £30.00

**FABLED CITIES OF CENTRAL ASIA: SAMARKAND, BUKHARA, KHIVA** by Robert Magowan, Cassell, London, 1990. 191 pp. £29.95.

"Afghanistan & the Politics of Pakistan" by Marvin Weinbaum appeared in the UFSI Field Staff Report, Asia 1990-9/#7. His article "War & Peace in Afghanistan: The Pakistani Role"

is in the MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, Vol.45, #1.

**AFGHANISTAN: THE MAKING OF U.S. POLICY, 1973-1990** will be ready in March from The National Security Archive.

*Afghanistan, 1973-1990* contains a comprehensive, day-by-day record of the making of U.S. policy toward Afghanistan. Approximately 2,500 documents representing over 15,000 pages of primary source materials—most rarely seen—are published here for the first time.

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(ISBN 0 89887 074 7) Complete Set \$3900

*Afghanistan: The Making of U.S. Policy, 1973-1990, Guide and Index* (ISBN 0 89887 075 5) \$ 900

WUFA, the Writer's Union of Free Afghanistan, has published the transcript of an International Seminar on Social & Cultural Prospects for Afghanistan, presented at Peshawar University last March in tribute to the memory of Louis Dupree. It is Vol. 5, #4 of the JOURNAL OF AFGHAN AFFAIRS, Oct.-Dec. 1990. 215 pp. Participants include Anders Fange, Hakim Taniwal, Rasul Amin, Nancy Dupree, Moh'- Anwar Khan, Asger Christensen, Richard Tapper, Azam Gul, Rolf Bindemann, Rustam Shah Mohmand, Rasul Amin, Willy Steul, Erika Knabe-Pausch, Azmat Hayat Khan, Ijaz Gilani, Mushahid Hussain, Habibir Rahman Hala, Syeda Abida Hussain, Bo Utas, William Maley, Margaret Mills, Jan-Heeren Grevemeyer, Paul Bucherer-Dietschi, Thomas Eighmy, Abdullah Jan Khalil, Ashraf Ghani, M.B. Naqvi, Nassim Jawad, Nancy Tapper, Michael Keating, Micheline Centlivres-Demont, Saduddin Shpoon, Abdul Wasay Najimi, Fidaullah Sehrai, Hussain Momand, Nazif Shahrani, Hanneke Kouenberg, Moh'd Haider Reza & Bernt Glatzer.

## BOOK REVIEWS

THE LAST RAVEN, Craig Thomas, Harper Collins (10 East 53rd St., New York, NY 10022), 1990. 467 pp. \$19.95. ISBN 0-06-016389-5.

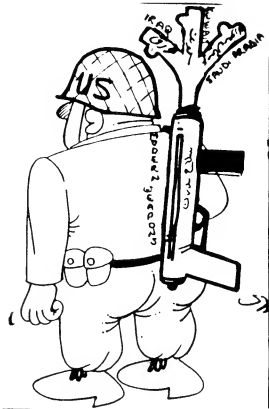
Firefox author Craig Thomas sets his latest thriller in the not-too-distant present. After the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Najib Gov't collapsed & "fundamentalist" mullahs are running Afghanistan; Masood has been killed; The jihad, however, is moving to the Muslim Soviet republics - with the help of some Tajiks, mullahs & Iran. Wow! We can't wait to read on.

But, just as Afghanistan always has been only a crossroads, so it is again. Afghans appear only as geographically convenient characters to move the plot along. The story involves the shooting down of two aircraft - one, a US passenger plane in the wilds of northern California, the other, a Soviet Ilyushin carrying the wife of the Soviet leader. She is on her way to Kabul to try to stop fundamentalist interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. The lady, it appears, is the prime mover of glasnost & perestroika and her untimely demise sends the Soviet leader back to the pre-g & p age, which was the object of the whole exercise. The aircraft were downed by missiles launched from remotely-piloted-vehicles, created in Britain but never manufactured. Six prototypes were made but, supposedly, they were destroyed.

We first meet the hero, Patrick Hyde, an Australian on the payroll of the British Secret Service, somewhere in Tajikistan. He is on a reconnaissance mission with a group of Afghan Tajiks. Hyde photographs the results of the missile attack & discovers that both the CIA & the KGB are involved. Naturally, this piques his curiosity. Somehow Hyde escapes to Kabul (the Afghans are conveniently killed) & then to Peshawar, where the CIA gets hold of his photographs. We keep going, hoping for more about Afghanistan - or at least Soviet Central Asia. Alas, the action moves to London, Moscow & northern California, where the US plane went down, obviously a practice shot. The rest of the book involves the search for proof of the nasty business & involves upper echelon British officials, the niece of one of them, a shady South African businessman, jazz musicians in Sausalito (no, the evidence was not in the piano; Mr. Thomas must not be a Casablanca fan), & various British, CIA & KGB spooks.

You can turn the pages of The Last Raven without reading them since you know who has to win & the methodology is not that gripping. Maybe, if events hadn't overtaken Mr. Thomas - the British P.M. is no longer a "she"; the Soviet leader is reverting to type without losing his wife; missiles are flying all over; & Afghanistan gets lost in the shuffle again - this book might have been more interesting. At the moment, it's a thriller without the thrill.

Mary Ann Siegfried



Views on the  
Gulf War from  
the Kabul  
Weekly News.

"If anyone comes near me, I'll blow it up."



# THE KABUL TIMES

## President's decree on elections

The press centre of the Presidential Office reported that President Najibullah has issued the following decree on holding elections for electing the representatives of the precincts and municipality sessions of Kabul city.

1- On the basis of article 31 of the law on municipalities, the elections for electing the representatives to the session of the Kabul city eleven precincts should be held in two days in the first 15 days of Hoot of the current Afghan year.

2- As per the article 25 of the law on municipali-

ties, the Council of Ministers is duty bound to assign and announce in ten days the composition of the election commissions in which their chairmen are the presidents of the the courts of Kabul precincts and city.

3. The election commission shall fix the number of representatives in the session of Kabul city and precincts as per article 33 of the law on municipalities.

4- To control the processes of elections, subcommissions under the chairmanship of the representatives of Kabul city, courts

should be set up in the electoral constituencies of the Kabul city eleven precincts.

5- The judges of the RA supreme court or Kabul city courts should cooperate in the setting up of the subcommissions.

6- The Council of Ministers is duty bound to assign other members of the subcommissions as per the article 34(3) of the law on municipalities.

7- After three days of elections, the precinct's session should elect their representatives to the municipality's session.

8- After three days of elections, the municipali-

ty's session should elect in its first session the mayor deputy mayors, secretary and members of the municipality's association as per the article 72 of the law on municipalities.

9. The election commissions shall have to perform their duties pertaining to holding elections as per the provisions of the law on municipalities.

10- This decree should be broadcast and published as per article 32 of the law on municipalities.

**Najibullah,**  
**President of the Republic of Afghanistan.**

JANUARY 9, 1991 JADI, 19, 1369 H.S.



President Najibullah addressing the session marking the 26th founding anniversary of the Watan Party.

# President declares amnesty for convicted armed forces personnel

President Najibullah has issued a decree, amnestying many people on the 4th NR proclamation anniversary, reported the Presidential Office for Press. The text of this decree is reproduced below.

Celebrating the 4th proclamation anniversary of the national reconciliation policy and in line with the RA state's accomplishments in the light of this humanitarian policy, the following is approved in response to the appeals of the parents and relatives of those servicemen of the armed forces and other citizens liable to military service who have deserted the armed forces for various reasons:

**Article One:**  
Those sentenced to th-

ree years of imprisonment by the final verdict of the RA courts till January 15, 1991, are amnestied irrespective of the nature of the crime and the period of imprisonment undergone.

## Article Two:

Those servicemen of the armed forces who have hesitated in or deserted the service abstainately and those liable citizens who have evaded mobilization are being pardoned provided they have not committed treason to the homeland, acts of terror, subversion, murder and other crimes in case they report to their previous units and related commissariats by March 21, 1991.

**Article Three:**  
1— Pardoning those who

have been sentenced in absentia for the charges covered in second article of this decree.

2— Cancelling the files, if any, concerning those accused for the charges charted in the second article of this decree.

3— Giving up the interrogation and legal persécution of those accused for the charges covered by the second article of this decree, provided they have voluntarily referred to the respective units or have been detained.

**Article Four:**  
Amnestizing those servicemen of the armed forces who have been sentenced for the crimes underlined by the second article of this decree as per the final verdict irrespective of the term undergone.

**Article Five:**  
Amnestizing irrespective of the period undergone, those individuals who have been condemned to jail as per a final verdict for the crimes covered by para 1 of article 50, para 1 of article 31, paras 1 and 2 of article 32, para 1 article 34, para 1 of article 35, para 1 of article 39, paras 1 and 2 of article 43 of the Law on military crimes.

## Article Six:

The subordinate punishment of the individuals covered by this decree is also waived. They are not subject to the consequences of resignation and desertion of job or service and the previous period of their service is also countable.

The servicemen of the armed forces can enjoy the advantages of this decree and can be readmitted to their previous services with their past record taken into full consideration.

## Article Seven:

If the people covered by this decree have been convicted apart from prison term, to refunding the amount payable for losing a party, the same is recovered as follows:

1— They shall be set free after paying the amount in case it does not exceed Afs. 150,000.

2— If the amount exceeds 150,000 Afs. after paying the same, the rest is to be recovered in instalments.

## Article Eight:

The Ministries of the armed forces and other concerned organs are duty bound to take necessary steps for re-admission or those covered by this decree.

## Article Nine:

The pre-assigned commission under article 465 dated July 1990 is bound to implement this decree.

## Article Ten:

This decree runs into forces after approval and shall be published in the press and official gazette.

**Najibullah, President of Afghanistan.**

**JANUARY 15, 1991**

According to Presidential Press Office, a Presidential decree has been issued on nomination of a new Vice President. Text Follows:

Under article 82 (8) of the Constitution, I nominate Dr. Abdul Wahed Sarabi as Vice President.

The National Assembly should take required steps as per the said provision.

**Najibullah, President of Afghanistan.**

President Najibullah has passed another decree on approval of a Parliament resolution concerning the amendment of para two of article 22 of the Law on State Employees.

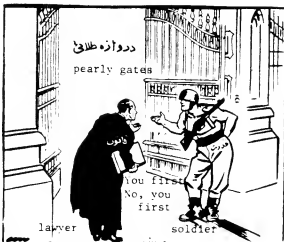
Under article 75 (2) of the Constitution, I sign the Parliament resolution

No. 54/1 dated Nov. 7, 1990 on amendment of para 2 article 22 of the Law on State Employees which has thus brought down the term of promotion of out-of-rank employees from six to four years.

As per article 24 of this law, the State organs should take required measures concerning the promotion of those employees who are deserving as per this amendment.

**Najibullah, President of Afghanistan.**  
**JANUARY 8, 1991**

# decrees



# AFGHAN WOMEN ENJOY EQUAL RIGHTS WITH MEN

Wisdom and rationality distinguishes human being, both men and women from all the creatures of the globe. If any distinction is made between these two creatures, that would be only for talent, gesture, living conditions and the environment for their bringing up.

In pursuance of the orders of Allah, the favourite traditions of the Afghans and the enforced laws and regulations in the country, women have enjoyed equality of rights with men from long time back to date. In fact, in some cases the women enjoy more privileges than men.

In view of the policy line of the government to ensure the better living conditions for the families,

the council of ministers in its session dated Dec. 24, 1990 approved the lunch allowance of women employees during the delivery leave as per the proposal of the ministry of labour and social affairs.

Keeping in view of the members of our society are women, they along with men are busy in all fields of life, including production, cultural and health spheres.

Under the present condition, the women are given more opportunity in the higher posts of the state apparatus than before.

Those who call themselves Mujahideens and holy fighters connive the very rights of the women. They

have deprived the women from election or to be elected. They consider the women inferior and as tool at the hands of men and treat them as slaves and servants.

The pathetic status of living conditions of refugees in Pakistan and the living conditions of women in Naser Bagh camp are terrible.

The women of our country who have suffered more than others from the calamity of war are strongly defending the cause of peace and national unity. Consequently they act against the war-like forces who have deprived them of their husbands and children.

The women of our country realize that if peace is prevailed in their

homeland and the process of reconstruction begun, it would give impetus to uplifting their standard of living.

The government of Afghanistan has endeavoured to protect the rights of women, providing them with better work opportunities. We are aware of this very fact that these are the Afghan mothers who are bringing up brave and valorous sons, and present them to the society. In fact, we expect the mothers to nourish their children in a way who would valiantly defend national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our homeland.

We bow to the woman and Afghan mother for they deserve our appreciation. (By our reporter)

1/2

## US, UK urged to reopen embassies in Kabul

The Afghan government recently made a powerful plea to the United States and Britain for reopening their embassies in Kabul—almost two years after they and other Western countries, as well as Japan, pulled out their diplomats when Soviet troops completed their withdrawal in February 1989. says Daily Telegraph quoting Deepak Tripathi, BBC Reporter in Kabul.

The foreign minister, Mr. Abdul Wakil, in a wide-ranging interview, said, "Afghanistan is slowly coming out of its diplomatic isolation as a result of fundamental changes in the political and social spheres in 1990." The improved situation, he said, had prompted France and Italy to send their diplomats back.

Mr. Wakil's remarks came after President Najibullah's highly-publicised visit to Switzerland last November, when he met a number of moderate opposition representatives in search of a settlement

of Afghanistan's 12-year-old conflict.

"On the domestic front", Mr. Wakil said "significant constitutional changes had taken place during the past year." Parliament was, once again, functioning after 15 years, as was a cabinet including many ministers who are not members of President Najibullah's Homeland Party.

"Further constitutional changes will continue in the coming year," the Afghan foreign minister said.

id, "and we hope the Mujahedin resistance will assume a role in national affairs."

Turning to foreign affairs, Mr. Wakil said relations with Iran, Turkey and China had improved. New diplomatic ties were established with countries like Venezuela in Latin America and Africa's newly-independent country, Namibia.

He said he wished that the United States and Britain would base their

foreign policies on more realistic considerations. Contrasting the number of countries that recognise the Afghan rebel government based in the Pakistani city of Peshawar with those which have diplomatic ties with Kabul, the foreign minister said, "we have relations with more than a hundred nations while they are recognised by just four countries."

Two of the western countries which withdrew their diplomats, France and Italy, are back. The United States and Britain, he hoped, would follow suit in the new year. "That would enable Washington and London," he concluded, "to gain first-hand information about the realities of Afghanistan."

1/8

### HOUSE FOR RENT

A two storied building located in Kart-i-Seh, nearby Pul-i-Surkh, ICRC hospital which included one saloon, six sitting rooms, a kitchen, two well equipped bathrooms and a telephone available for rent for four months or more. It is suitable for foreigners and foreign offices.

Individuals, locals and foreign institutions willing to rent, may contact Tel. 24074 Hatamzai Ltd, second floor Latif Market Kabul.

109 (2—1)

# Situation is normal in Sari-Pul province

Maj. Gen. Rahmatullah Hamdard governor of Sari-Pul province was interviewed by our reporter recently. The excerpts from the interview are presented below:

**Q: Please explain the military and political situation in Sari-Pul province?**

A: Compared with the previous years, the military and political situation is improving in Sari-Pul province. Totally the situation from the military point of view is normal and only our security outposts have been encountered with the assaults of the forces attached to Gulbuddin and our posts have dealt heavy strikes on them.

That is why over 3300 armed and 6000 unarmed persons have joined to the state sovereignty and security have been ensured in 22 villages of this province till the

end of 1988 HS. It should be said that the units of the armed forces stationed in this province including the units of the army, paramilitary, state security and soldiers of homeland have decisively defended the peaceful life of the people and Sari-Pul Shoberghan, Sari-Pul Suzma Qala and Sari-Pul Sayad ways are now open to the traffic.

Q: As we noticed the unspalled Sheberghan-Sari-Pul road has created lots of problems for our people, please tell us when it is going to be spalled or macadamized?

A: Really this unspalled road has created many problems for the residents of Sari-Pul and due to the seasonal rainfalls it is not open to the traffic for almost five months.

We have already informed the council of ministers and the ministry of

constructional affairs of this problem. As a result of our contacts with the above authorities, only 12 km of this road has been asphalted and macadamized, but its main parts are still unspalled.

Q: As we noticed your possibilities and the situation of the road, we thought that the road should be first macadamized and then asphalted, what is your opinion in this regard?

A: I support your opinion and I proposed this matter to the Minister of Construction Affairs. I hope that the macadamization of the road will first be completed next year and this road will be open to the traffic throughout the year.

Q: As I met some residents and popular dignitaries of this province, they promised every cooperation in repairing the

road. What is your opinion in this regard?

A: We previously constructed the Sari-Pul and Pule Asiab bridges with the cooperation of the residents of this province. As far as the repairing of this road is concerned, the road should be macadamized and asphalted with the manifold cooperation of the government and the people. This road enjoys a special significance in the transportation of the people and essential goods to this province and the transportation of the agricultural commodities of this province to the other provinces of the country.

**Q: Please shed light on the situation of education, public health and mass media of that province?**

A: Lack of teachers and text books are the main problems in the sphere

of education in our province. In addition to that, due to the lack of buildings, the students of our schools are studying their lessons in the shops and inns. We have only one hospital and it is not a well equipped health centre to conduct operations and to properly treat the patients in this province. Normally we send the patients for further treatment to Sheberghan hospitals.

**Q: Please talk a little bit on the master plan of the city and the state of the allotment of the land plots in this province?**

A: The master plan of our city was formulated in HS 1367 and we received it in 1368 HS. On the basis of this master plan, 600 land plots have so far been allotted to the residents of this province.

(By Air reporter)

1/30

## DONATIONS CONTINUE

Afs. 70,000 have been donated to the national mine-clearance scheme by the state employees of Samangan province.

Also, employees of the Ministry of Frontier Affairs have donated one-day salary to this commission while those of Mother and Child care Department,

School Students, Health Clinic Dept. and Malalai Maternity Hospital performed one-hour overtime work to transfer the income to the account of the commission.

According to another report, the scholars of Shahzada Sarai contributed 300,000 Afs. to the Association of Invalids and the Disabled.

Another report adds that prime commodities at a tune of over Afs. 14 million were distributed to the deserving people of Kabul city districts by the disaster relief department of the Council of Ministers in the past month. (BIA)

JANUARY 19, 1991.

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# USSR to help end bloodshed in Afghanistan

The Soviet Union intends to continue active political efforts to help end bloodshed in Afghanistan. Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaly Churkin told a briefing in Moscow on Thursday.

He was speaking about the fourth anniversary of the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Churkin stressed that the basic principles of national reconciliation policy—political and economic pluralism, a multiparty system, a coalition approach to forming bodies of state authority and the recognition that there is no alternative to the peaceful solution of the Afghan domestic problem, were set down

in the new constitution and more than 30 new regulatory enactments of the Afghan Republic.

During the past four years, the President and government of the Republic of Afghanistan have put forth a number of constructive proposals and initiatives aimed at ensuring free democratic elections in Afghanistan

in order to create a broad-based representative government, Churkin said.

An active role in implementing the national reconciliation policy, he added, is being played by the national assembly and the peace front of Afghanistan, uniting nearly 30 parties public organizations and groups.

The Soviet foreign min-

istry spokesman expressed regret that irreconcilable part of the Afghan opposition still prefers power methods and rejects peaceable initiatives, which are increasingly supported by the population. Churkin said these activities prevented a peaceful settlement of the prolonged conflict in Afghanistan.

JANUARY 19, 1991.

# Press freedom should be utilized for national understanding

Thanks to the national reconciliation policy and practical measures of the state of the Republic of Afghanistan which have put an end to the monopoly of the mass media and the freedom and pluralism of the press have got a new shape under conditions that flames of war still rise high in our beloved land. Now, a considerable number of private publications belonging to the different political parties and organisations have begun functioning in the country, following the enforcement of the new Constitution and the law on press, which paved a good ground for democratisation of political life in the country.

As is known, freedom of the press makes the main pillars of democracy in a society. Acceptance of this belief and utilisation of this global experience in our society, indicates the resolute will and sincere honesty of the Watan Party and the state of the Republic of Afghanistan towards lofty ideals of peace and democracy in the country.

Taking note of this reality and the historic examples of today's contemporary world, this be-

lief exists that ensurance of the press freedom without its effectiveness and purposefulness toward spread of democracy and realisation of the requirements of the people, as a moral and social objective, turning in some cases as an anti-freedom and anti-democratic factor.

Therefore, we need more than others to pay utmost attention towards effectiveness and purposefulness of the press under the conditions of war here

Do we possess the right to utilise the freedom of the press in the service of heinous organisational group and private objectives and make private and political exploitation thereof when still a devastating war is being imposed on our people? Unfortunately, such efforts are being made in the publications of some private organs, parties or organisations which, as a whole, emanate from the individual dissatisfaction or group differences or personal complexes. These differences consequently add fuel to the fire and lead

to certain undesirable conflicts amongst the peace-loving forces in the country.

From whatever sources these efforts emanate, they possess a common characteristic which mainly rely on widening the past mistakes. Lack of honestly paying attention to the current issues and misrepresenting the future despite the national reconciliation depicts a gloomy destiny for our people.

Which question should first be answered when the alien and foreign forces are endangering the national independence and the war-mongering forces are continuing their killings and destructive activities in the country? Should we answer that question what we have done yesterday, or what should we do today so that our today should not be like yesterday?

Under such conditions exchange of irresponsible criticisms amongst the peace forces and patriots are not only against their own interests but would trample down underfoot the national high interest and will weak-

en the peace forces to overcome the national problems. Such practices have been abandoned and considered as old and decadent methods in political competitions.

Practicing of such old methods in our country under the cover of "freedom of press" put under serious question our claim for defending the democracy

Moreover, it is regretful to claim that there is no freedom of press in the country, while those advancing these assertions are practically enjoying all the freedoms enshrined in the press law

Now that after a long pause our people are enjoying full freedom of the press and the tree of democracy is being nourished within the flames of war, the high interest of today and tomorrow teach us to utilise the freedom of press in the best and sound manners.

We should not limit the press within small and individual interest, but it is better to turn it as the best means of understanding, dialogue, peace, democracy and all-round progress of our society.

**DECEMBER 28, 1990**

## CM calls for just distribution of electricity

The new scheme of "power-resources utilization" set forth by the Minister of Water and Power, Mir Abdul Ghafoor Rahim, was the topic of discussion in the Monday's session of the Council of Ministers chaired by Prime Minister, Fazlulhaq Khalkhail, reports the CM press centre.

In the planetary meeting, the CM once again laid stress on fair and equal use of electricity by all Kabul citizens. The Ministry of Water and Power was advised to take prompt measures for curtailing the losses, activating the controlling net-

works, preventing misuse and unfair distribution. The Ministry is to seek basic ways for meeting the shortages and to accelerate the work for the Borzai Second power Project.

As per the agenda, Mohammad Hakim, Minister of Finance, presented a scientific analysis and real picture of financial and budgetary situation of the country and proposed new revenue sources and ways of economization for providing for the balance and meeting the State's budget deficit.

Since the use of new

revenue sources and ways of economization in the expenditures covered the country's broad financial, accounting and economic affairs, the CM decided, after a comprehensive debate, that a commission chaired by Abdul Wahed Sarabi, Deputy Prime Minister and the Ministers of Finance, Trade, Central Statistics, Labour and Social Security as well as a representative of the Presidential Dept. for Economic Affairs as members, be set up. The commission is to submit the said proposal for a precise study and

presentation of the state draft budget for HS 1370 to the CM.

**DECEMBER 23, 1990**



"Daddy, strike a match so we can see if the power is on."

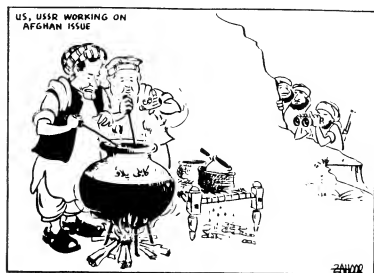
# CHRONOLOGY

1/1/91 - AFGHANews (Jamiat) cites an Iraqi paper which reported that the ROA received a \$300m donation from the Iraqi Gov't for the promotion of Islam in Afghanistan.

- Australia will give \$4m worth of wheat for Afghan refugees in Pakistan through the World Food Program. Afghans & other Muslim families living in Australia will give 20 Afghan refugee orphan children \$30 monthly cash assistance. The money will be distributed by the Muslim Sisters Organization. (See p.25 for more about the Muslim Sisters.)

1/3 - BIA - About 280 Afghans died in an avalanche in Badakhshan on 12/30, according to Radio Free Afghanistan. Those who died were members of a mujahideen supply convoy coming from Chitral. [AFGHANews in its issue of 1/15 said only 5 people died in the incident but that the report provided Radio Kabul & Radio Moscow with propaganda for a week.]

1/4 - PT - The mujahideen representative in Karachi, Haji Ali Jan, said that the policies of the Benazir regime were not in conformity with the Afghan Jihad & therefore, the change in the Pakistani Gov't was warmly welcomed by the Afghan freedom fighters. He said that even tho US interest has "shrunk," the muj were not solely dependent on US aid because about 120 other countries are still behind the muj's just cause. He accused both the US & the USSR of creating obstacles in the establishment of an Islamic gov't in Afghanistan for "their ulterior motives."



Frontier Post 3/2/90

1/5 - BIA - Final exams began at Kabul Univ. The exams will last 20 days & be given to over 6,400 students.

1/7 - BIA - Dr. Abdul Wahid Saraby was appointed a Vice President of the ROA.  
 - The Council of Ministers was directed by Najibullah to remove "flaws" existing in the mass media. (See p. 36.)  
 - Starting in March, in addition to flour & edible oil, tea, sugar & soap will be distributed free of charge to coupon holders. Gov't employees will receive an income tax exemption amounting to Afs. 120,000 for married couples & Afs. 60,000 for single persons.  
 - To celebrate the 4th anniversary of the Nat'l Reconciliation policy, a week-long exhibition of the students & teachers of



Ghulam Moh'd Maimanagi's art school was inaugurated at the exhibition hall of the Ministry of Information & Culture. The 230 artistic pieces included paintings, statues, calligraphy, Behzad-style miniatures, carpets & needlework.  
 - The computer services enterprise will become a joint stock company.

1/9 - PT - The US Embassy in Islamabad asked all US citizens to leave Pakistan. [Yesterday, all non-essential US Gov't personnel were ordered out.]

1/10 - PT - In Afghanistan at least 144 people have died during unprecedented cold weather, including 42 travelers who froze to death in buses caught in snowstorms.

- BIA - Since Nat'l Reconciliation (1987), protocols of "termination of armed activities" have been signed between the ROA Ministry of State Security & 1,446 groups; dialogue continues with 1,063 other groups.  
 - PT - Mujaddadi, Pres. of the AIG, met with the US & Saudi Ambassadors in Islamabad to discuss "important nat'l & int'l issues" relating to Afghanistan.

1/13 - NYT - Sardar Shah Nawaz, Pakistan's chief delegate to the UN from 1982-1989, died on 1/11 in New York.

1/14 - UN Press Release - Seven countries have pledged new contributions to Operation Salam: The US - \$6.5m for UN assistance programs to Afghanistan; Canada - \$2.6m for the purchase of 8,000 metric tons of wheat plus \$1.3m for UNICEF; Sweden - \$900,000; Australia - \$385,000; Finland - \$800,000; Germany - \$675,000. Italy has released a previous pledge of \$3.6m to be used for food aid through the World Food Program.

- PT - Haji Deen Moh'd of the Hezb-i-Islami (Khalis) said that his party had received a letter from the AIG President requesting them to send contingents to the Gulf. He said, however, that the matter had not come up at AIG Cabinet meetings. (See p. 12)

1/15 - AFGHANews - Younus Khalis transferred the central office of his Hezb-i-Islami party to Ningarah Province to be nearer the enemy. Only a small office will represent the party in Peshawar.

- An Indian trade delegation reached Kabul on 12/30 to discuss the sale of 50,000 tons of wheat & 400 buses. The Indian Trade Minister said that bilateral trade between the 2 countries, through Iran, will increase. Iranian cooperation is a key factor since the mujahideen control the transit roads through Pakistan.

- There are severe food & fuel shortages in Kabul. The ROA says lack of transportation is the main problem.

Younus Khalis



1/15 - BIA - Najib signed a decree allowing prisoners who haven't the money to pay their fines to be released and, after giving reliable security, to pay the fines in installments. (See p. 33.)  
- The Agricultural Development Bank began a 3-month English language training course for 30 bank employees.

1/17- PT - About 300 Afghan teachers picketed the AIG offices in Peshawar to press for the payment of their salaries which, they said, had not been paid for 3 months.

1/20 - LA Daily News -

**ISLAMABAD, Pakistan** — A rocket attack blamed on U.S.-backed guerrillas shook the Afghan capital of Kabul on Saturday, killing at least 11 people, including five children, Kabul radio reported.

The state-run radio, monitored in Islamabad, said dozens of rockets rained down on Kabul. A residential district near the city center reportedly took the brunt of the attack.

The radio blamed the guerrillas, who are headquartered in neighboring Pakistan.

1/21 - BIA - ROA officials discussed the urgent need for the establishment of a university in Kandahar.

1/22 - PT - The chief of Daye Ittehad-i-Islami Afghanistan, Qazi Moh'd Amin Waqad, expressed shock & indignation over US bombing raids on Iraq. However, he demanded that Iraq withdraw from Kuwait in order to remove the cause of the US & allies' action which was destroying the military might of the Muslim countries. He "viewed with regret" that the command of Muslim forces in the Gulf was in the hands of the Americans, & said that all military power, US, Iraq, etc., should be used against Israel. He commended the past role of Kuwait & Saudi Arabia in the Afghan cause & "recalled that Iraq always stood with the Communists & Hindus on the issue of Afghanistan."

1/24 - BIA - An extensive demonstration calling for the end of the Gulf War was staged in Kabul.

- BIA - A week-long exhibition of the work of artists from Balkh was held in Mazar-i-Sharif.

- The US closed its consulates in Pakistan as a result of anti-American demonstrations in that country. The majority of diplo-



mats & employees, as well as those Afghans holding US passports & working in charity institutions "have been summoned to the USA."

1/24 - PT - The US is pressuring muj leaders to send troops to the Gulf (see p. 12).

- BIA - (And we quote:)

The heads of Peshawar-based opposition groupings, some Saudi Wahabis & a number of Pakistani militarymen who have undertaken the management of the camps, convened a meeting on 1/17-18 at Khardeno camp in order to attract 1,700 youth from the Afghan refugees to be sent to Saudi Arabia for joining the US-led forces against Iraq... At this meeting, Gulbuddin & Sayaf promised that they will prepare 1,100 armed persons for sending them to Saudi Arabia in order to participate in the war against Iraq. The heads of the other groupings also expressed readiness in this effect. ..When they referred for this purpose to the camps, they were faced with severe repercussions of the refugees. The refugees responded with indignation to the decision of the leaders of the groupings on sending the armed people to Saudi Arabia putting them under the US command. They did not allow even 1 person to be collected for this purpose.



1/26 - PT - The Shoor'a of Afghan Commanders condemned the "indiscriminate aerial bombings of the American allied forces over the innocent Iraqi people." The Shoor'a, however, called for Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait, restore its legitimate gov't & create an atmosphere for all non-Muslim forces to withdraw from the Gulf.

- BIA - ROA Finance Minister Moh'd Hakim met with the Exec. Dir. of the Int'l Monetary Fund in Kabul to discuss IMF assistance to Afghanistan.

- Moh'd Daud Razmyar is the ROA Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

1/27 - BIA - The 2nd Sec'y of the Afghan Consulate in Quetta & his driver were pursued on their way home from work by "a number of armed men with uniform in a Toyota vehicle without a number plate." The Afghans were threatened & one man entered the residency compound. The ROA Foreign Ministry complained to Pakistan & cautioned against repetitions of such incidents.

- Da Afghanistan Bank reported a gross profit last year of Afs. 1 thousand 247 million - 27% over the target plan.

- Credit to the Afghan Industrial Development Bank was raised to 1 thousand 1 million Afs.

- PT - The Afghan cdr. in Paktia, Khalid Farooqi, "has played the role of the US & its allies in the Gulf war." He accused the US of only wanting to crush the military might of the Muslims. He allowed as how the Afghan Jihad has entered a very sensitive phase, but said, that in spite of severe weather, the muj are holding positions around Kabul & a number of other provincial capitals.

- NYT - Int'l travel has declined 30% since the start of the Gulf war.

Some international flights are being re-routed around the Middle East, via China, the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Pakistan or Afghanistan. Because of the expense of this additional mileage, some fares could rise, according to industry analysts.

1/28 - BIA - Najib signed a military services law amendment authorizing the Council of Ministers to determine "complementary exemption from military services for those whose work is needed in nat'l economy, transit nomads & border tribes."

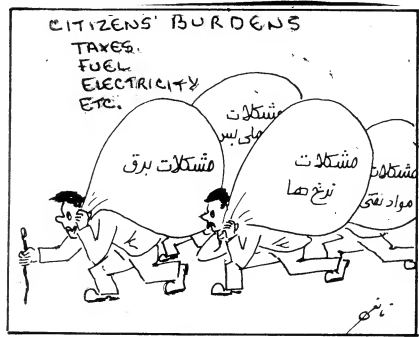
1/29 - BIA - A heavy (40-70 cms.) 3-day snowfall caused problems in Kabul. Due to "timely state measures," the problems are being resolved.

- Najibullah issued a decree yesterday calling for the Prime Minister to take adequate measures for the "restoration, preservation & prevention of illegal excavation by the foreigners in the RA of historical monuments & relics."

1/30 - PT - Gen. Moh'd Hashim, a WAD officer captured last November, was executed in Parwan Prov. after being found guilty of various crimes & murders by a mujahideen military court.



1/30 - BIA - Noor Ahmad Noor was named ROA Ambassador to Cuba. He left his UN post in December.  
 - The ROA has "taken necessary measures at hand" to stabilize the Afghani.



- The KT reported that the State Publishing Company of Uzbekistan will issue an "encyclopedia reference book" on the great silk route later this year.

1/31 - BIA - A 6-member group of Afghan athletes left for Paris to take part in the winter Olympic training competitions.  
 - Since NR (1987), 374,488 Afghans from 22 countries have returned to Afghanistan, according to Dr. Khalil Jalal, Dep. Min. of Repatriates Affairs. 1,969 are employed in state institutions & 1,775 are in the armed forces.

2/1 - BIA - An earthquake, 6.5 on the Richter scale, rocked Kabul at 3:30 a.m. local time. The quake was felt in 17 provinces (see 2/2, 2/4 & p. 16.)

2/2 - NYT - The quake, centered in the Hindu Kush mountains, measured 6.8 on the Richter scale.

Among the worst affected were Afghan refugees living in squalid camps throughout the frontier region.

More than three million Afghan refugees fled to Pakistan after 1979, when the Soviet military intervened in their homeland. The refugees are scattered throughout the northwest in tent villages and dried-mud houses.

"We rushed emergency assistance to the remote areas around Chitral," about 200 miles from Islamabad, said a Government official in the area, speaking on the condition that he not be identified.

Pakistani television reported more than 100 homes destroyed in North-West Frontier Province.



The New York Times

2/4 - BIA - On the earthquake: "The dimensions of the catastrophe inside Afghanistan is still remained ambiguous, but it is speculated that the number of those killed is around 200 people."

- Thousands of families are homeless after floods in Nimroz & Farah Provinces. Afs. 2m plus 2 tons of relief goods have been sent to Nimroz.

- The PT cites a BBC report that perhaps 1,000 people died & many more were injured in the earthquake, mostly in Kunar & Nangarhar Provinces.

2/5 - BIA - Haji Abdul Hussein Maqsoodi, head of the mujahideen union in Quetta, told VOA that Mujaddedi announced the dismissal of over 20,000 employees of the AIG. "The dismissed personnel will resume their jobs provided that foreign assistance begins again. Right now the Afghan people question the mujahid stand that why their jihad 'holy war' is totally depending on foreign assistance which goal is unknown."

- The Council of Ministers heard reports from Construction Affairs Minister, Faqir Moh'd Nikzad, & Housing Construction Affairs President, Abdul Latif Noorzad, on "the just price fixation of ruining (sic), selling & distribution of commercial as well as multi-story areas in 4 parts of Kabul City."

- Abdul Aziz was elected Dean of the Univ. of Islamic Research in Kabul.

- The Council of Ministers approved Afs. 3m for flood relief in Zabul Prov; the Afghan Red Crescent has sent relief goods to Kandahar, Farah & Nimroz; Afs. 1m was distributed to victims of rocket attacks in Kabul & Paktia. (see 2/6)

2/6 - BIA - Heavy rains have caused severe flooding in Nimroz, Helmand & Kandahar Provinces. The ROA has asked for assistance from int'l organizations. UNDP promised aid & asked for ROA help in getting the goods to the affected areas.

- The Industrial Development Bank distributed over Afs. 442m to industrial enterprises last year. The bank's net profit last year was Afs. 63m. The bank will donate Afs. 1m to the nat'l mine-clearing commission.

- In Moscow, ROA For. Min. Wakil met with Soviet F.M. Bessmertnykh to discuss the problem of a political solution to the Afghan problem.

2/6 - BIA - Afs. 280,000 were distributed to flood victims in Balkh & Afs. 1m to earthquake victims in Badakhshan; The Iranian Embassy in Kabul gave bedding to Avicenna Hospital in Kabul; the Red Crescent gave relief goods worth Afs. 2m to families in Kabul's 5th district.  
 - Presently 813 students are enrolled in the Oil & Gas Technicum in Mazar-i-Sharif. The school has 6 departments & 54 Teachers. Before receiving diplomas at the end of 5 years, students must "undergo a practical period in productive institutions."  
 - PT - "An Afghan cdr, (Hizbe Islami) Eng. Abid has said the Afghan Mujahideen will join the Kashmiri Jihad for freedom." He spoke at a rally organized by Pakistan's Jamaat-i-Islami. Eng. Abid said he thought the Jihad would start in a month or two.

2/7 - BIA - A Nat'l Assn. of Handicapped & Disabled of Afghanistan was established recently. Eng. Hamidullah Obaidy is the chairman.

- The Anti-Crime Dept. of the Interior Ministry uncovered 267 cases of "embezzlement, hoarding, fraud & corruption" this year. "Afs. ½ was abused in the crimes."

- The Bagram joint fruit processing factory was recommissioned on 2/5. It has 5 private owners, a capital of Afs. 50m, employs 100 workers & produces 2,000 tons of goods per year.

2/9 - PT - Several hundred Afghans left for Saudi Arabia on a special Saudia flight yesterday. They will operate under Saudi command (see p. 12).

- BIA - Payam, the Watan Party paper, calls the muj going to Saudi Arabia "Jihad for Dollar."

- ROA For. Min. Abdul Wakil is on an official visit to India. India has "expressed readiness to render all kinds of assistance in different areas of the ROA."

- New appointments:

Abdul Samad Salim - Dep. Prime Minister of Economic Affairs;

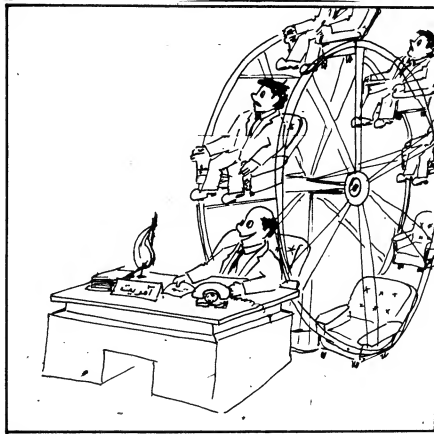
Moh'd Anwar Arghandiwal - Dep. P.M. of Social & Cultural Affairs;

Ghulam Mohayuddin Shahbaz - Minister of Planning;

Dr. Wadir Safi - Minister of Civil Aviation & Tourism;

(See p. 8 for notes on the appointees.)

Dr. Moh'd Nazir Shaheedi - Minister of Statistics.



2/10- BIA - A "heavy snowfall, unprecedented in the last decade," has "brought the normal life almost to a standstill" in Kabul. The snow came at the same time as some of the worst floods in south & southwest Afghanistan. The real number of casualties is not known as many villages have been wiped out. Over 10,000 are homeless.

- The USSR will deliver 60,000 tons of gratis wheat to Afghanistan during the 1st quarter of 1991.

- PT - Sayyaf said he had not sent any mujahideen to the Gulf. MEDIA, the Afghan Information Service, reported that the decision to send troops to defend the holy places was the personal decision of Mujaddedi & a few others. The matter was neither discussed nor decided on by the AIG.

2/11 - NYT - Pakistan has sent 11,000 troops to the Gulf. The article did not say whether that number included Afghans living in Pakistan.

2/12 - PT - Gulbuddin warned against US designs in the Gulf (see p.12).

-- BIA - To welcome the 2nd anniversary of the "independent defense of the country," the headquarters of the Afghan Advertising Agency was inaugurated, as were the Ministry of Planning's training cen-

ter, the new 5-story Council of Ministers building & a drinking water project "in the heights of Qali-Abchakan."

2/13 - BIA - Gen. Wali, Cdr. of the Kabul Police Force, announced that in the last 2 years, the security belt around Kabul City has been expanded, in some areas to over 35 kms.

- Dr. Abdullah Mustamandi was elected Rector of Kabul Polytechnic Inst.

2/16 - BIA - The 23-month guerrilla blockade of Qalat was broken by ROA forces.

2/17 - NYT - Guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed Government of Afghanistan fired rockets into the capital, Kabul, today, killing eight civilians, the official Kabul Radio reported.

The radio, monitored in Islamabad, said six American-made surface-to-surface rockets fired from the north had hit three districts of Kabul.

Afghan guerrillas hanged three Government soldiers on Thursday on the orders of an Islamic court, rebels in the Pakistani town of Quetta said today. They said the men were executed at the southern border town of Spinboldak for fighting against the guerrillas.

- The ROA has given Afs. 60m to flood-stricken families in Kandahar.

2/19 - BIA - Najibullah visited Kandahar.

2/20 - BIA - The Afghan athletes who went to France (see 1/31) took 7th place in a skiing competition.

- Since the troop withdrawal, the USSR has given the ROA over 7,000 vehicles, 4,500 at the time & 2,200 since.

#### Notes on the new cabinet appointees (see 2/9):

Abdul Samad Salim was a former Minister of Mines & Industries; Arghandiwal was a prime mover of the Nat'l Salvation Society; Shabaz was formerly Minister of Central Statistics - he replaces Abdul Wahid Sarabi who was made a vice president; Safi was formerly Dean of the Law & Political Science Faculty at Kabul University; Shaheedi was a former Dean of the Economics Faculty at Kabul University.

\* \* \*

The Weekly News on 1/17 announced that Najib wants to meet with Pakistan to

discuss ways of solving past & present differences & to explore ways of economic cooperation between Afghanistan & Pakistan.



Frontier Post 12/24/90

## Pakistan, USSR hold talks on Afghanistan

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, has said talks between Pakistan and the Soviet Union would soon be held to discuss the problem of Afghanistan, APP reported.

He said the Pakistan government's stand on Afghanistan remained unchanged. Pakistan wants a government

in Afghanistan which is acceptable to the people of that country, to pave the way for the return of refugees to their homes.

He said the Pakistan government had been in constant touch on this issue with the United Nations, U.S.A, Iran, Saudi Arabia and the representatives of the Afghan Mujahideen.

### **AFGHANews**

**January 1, 1991**



Associated Press

Mujahideen veterans of fighting against Soviet troops in Afghanistan get Russian weapons from Saudi Arabia before joining battle against Iraqis.

Asbury Park Press 2/20

# A benign neglect gnaws at Afghanistan

ANWAR-UL-HAQ AHADY

THE Afghan Mujahedeen have suffered serious military and political setbacks in the past year. And if the present trend continues another year, the resistance may lose its military and political significance without a negotiated settlement of the conflict. Of course, the Kabul government would be the major beneficiary of such developments. Decisive measures by the United States based on a more realistic policy of advocating a political solution of the conflict can help prevent such an eventuality.

Since the Soviet withdrawal, the resistance has failed to achieve any major military victory against government forces. Generally, the fighting has been drastically reduced throughout the country. Now the violence can be more accurately described as a war of attrition instead of a full-scale war. Even the Mujahedeen rocket attacks on Kabul, which in itself is a sign of military desperation, have declined substantially. The Kabul government, despite a major rebellion within its ranks last March, is militarily much more secure and feels confident about its future. Few people now talk of the imminent collapse of the Kabul government.

Indeed, in addition to military confidence, the regime has gained some political strength, too. The regime has abandoned communism and now advocates Afghan nationalism and Islam. A. though the state secret police (KHAD) is still very powerful, now the regime tolerates moderate opposition. Publicly, it also endorses a political settlement of the conflict. These measures have increased Najibullah's popularity, at least among the residents of Kabul.

In contrast, the popularity of the leadership of the resistance has rapidly declined. The Pakistan-based resistance government has not achieved international recognition and enjoys very little support among the people. The leaders of the resistance government do not agree on the distribution of power between themselves, and continuously undermine each other. They are also perceived to be more interested in their personal and partisan interest than the national interest.

The people were disgusted when a hard-line fundamentalist leader, Hekmatyar, formed an alliance with the Kabul government's defense minister, and a hard-line communist, Tani, to overthrow Najibullah, with the expectation of sharing power between themselves, presumably excluding the other resistance leaders.

Furthermore, the resistance government has little financial and military authority. Recently, the field commanders convened a major meeting whereby they asserted their independence from the interim resistance government. Pakistan's

military, which is still in charge of the war in Afghanistan, indirectly promotes such divisions within the resistance. Consequently, the resistance interim government lacks legitimacy and effectiveness. Once again, the Kabul government is the major beneficiary of these developments.

To bring peace to Afghanistan without conceding victory to the Kabul regime, the United States ought openly and decisively support the political resolution of the Afghan conflict. This could take two forms: A broad-based coalition government, or UN-supervised elections, with the participation of the Kabul government. Although a coalition government is the most effective way of ending the war, persistent opposition by the resistance in the past two years, supported by the United States, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, has rendered the idea rather unpopular.

General elections as a formula for a political settlement of the conflict, however, are favored by most Afghans. The Kabul government and the Soviets have also endorsed UN-supervised elections.

The resistance leadership in Pakistan, however, has opposed the Kabul government's participation in elections. Indeed, as long as the resistance leadership receives foreign financial and military aid, it is not likely to accept any political settlement which does not guarantee its dominance of Afghan politics. Because of the current low level of their popularity, the resistance leaders are apprehensive of losing general elections. Thus, they are reluctant to accept a political resolution of the Afghan conflict.

Decisive action by the United States can promote a successful political resolution of the conflict, despite opposition from the Pakistan-based leadership of the resistance. The resistance leadership was imposed by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia on the people of Afghanistan. These leaders do not have strong domestic bases of power; they are totally dependent on foreign support. The withdrawal of American financial and military support will dramatically weaken these leaders. They are in no position to veto a US-supported plan for peaceful resolution of the conflict.

There is a potential third force of nationalist groups and popular independent politician that can be easily mobilized to offer a credible alternative to the Kabul government and the Pakistan-based resistance leadership. In the past 10 years, Pakistan has deliberately excluded the nationalists from the leadership of the resistance. With the exception of the Afghan Mellat Party, which has openly supported a political resolution of the conflict through either a coalition government or

general elections with the participation of the Kabul government, other nationalist politicians have been very cautious not to antagonize the Pakistan-based resistance leadership.

A clear US policy favoring general elections with or without the consent of the Pakistan-based leadership of the resistance is likely to persuade these nationalist politicians to support general elections with the participation of the Kabul government. Modest American political and financial support for the nationalists can transform this potential force into a strong actual political power which can defeat the Kabul government and the Pakistan-based leadership of the resistance in general elections.

Thus, while a realistic American policy of favoring political solution of the Afghan conflict, combined with decisive implementation, can help bring peace and democracy to Afghanistan, a benign neglect is likely to lead to the gradual disintegration of the resistance and the consolidation of power by the Kabul government.

Anwar-ul-Haq Ahady is professor of Middle East politics at Providence College.

## Providence Journal Bulletin

DECEMBER 24, 1990



دیده سال نو، بهار رسم لاله پیاپی دادن

"New Year's present - again just speech-making."

قلمرہ قطرہ  
دریا گردن  
A river is made  
drop by drop."

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM



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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Centre <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AIG	- Afghan Interim Government
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- Christian Science Monitor
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	- German Democratic Republic
ICRC	- Int'l Committee of the Red Cross
KT	- Kabul Times
LAT	- Los Angeles Times
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organization
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- New York Times
OIC	- Organization of Islamic Conference
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- Pakistan Times
PVO	- Private Voluntary Organization
RC	- Revolutionary Council
ROA	- Republic of Afghanistan
SCMP	- South China Morning Post
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNOCA	- United Nations Office of the Commissioner for Afghanistan
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WSJ	- Wall Street Journal

Line drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the  
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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